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ERRATA.

Introductory Diſcourſe.

Page	Line	Errors.		Corrections.
12.	17.	*ulſcicitur*	read	*ulciſcitur.*

Anſwer to Earl *Stanhope's* Queries.

7.	33.	*Servilius*	*Servius.*
11.	23.	*Servilius*	*Servius.*

The Hiſtory.

Lib.				
1.	34.	3.	*Publicula*	*Publicola.*
2.	82.	15.	after *Conſuls*, put a Comma ,	
——	98.	26.	*their*	*his.*
——	——	27.	*their*	*his.*
——	——	ib.	Dele *and.*	
——	100.	13.	*Tribuitian*	*Tribunitian.*
——	121.	22.	*enducated*	*educated.*
——	124.	10.	*Sirname*	*Surname.*
——	129.	30.	*States*	*Eſtates*, &c.
——	——	39.	Dele *on purpoſe.*	
3.	175.	marg.	read *Volero inlarges the Law.*	
4.	196.	31.	*Patrician Magiſtrates*	*the Patrician Magiſtrates*
——	240.	marg.	*Trentillian*	*Terentillian.*
——	241.	3.	*Sicinus*	*Sicinius.*
——	242.	marg.	*Varro de Linguâ*	*Varro de Linguâ Latinâ*
5.	282.	28.	*give heed*	*give ear.*

Vol. II.

9.	98.	33.	*meaner*	*meaneſt.*
11.	171.	10.	*in Picenum*	*in the Picenum.*
12.	217.	33.	*Capital*	*Capitol.*
——	243.	30.	*Conſuls*	*Conſul.*

L. Cheron Inv.

G. V. Gucht Sculp.

36469

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS *That happened in the Government* OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Written in *French* by the Abbot *de Vertot*, of the *Royal Academy* of *Inſcriptions*, &c.

The FOURTH EDITION.

Engliſh'd by Mr. OZELL, from the Original newly reprinted at *Paris*, with Amendments and Additions by the Author himſelf, in almoſt every Page: Beſides not a few eſſential Alterations and Corrections in This Fourth Edition more than in any of the preceding ones, either *French* or *Dutch*.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

THAT

Happened in the Government of the *Roman Republick.*

BOOK VIII.

L. Manlius *is accuſed before the Aſſembly of the People, of giving hard Uſage to* T. Manlius *his Son. A bold Action of* Titus *to bring his Father off. He kills a* Gaul *of an extraordinary Stature, and is ſurnamed* Torquatus. Valerius Corvus: *Why ſo called. The* Samnites *declare War againſt the* Romans; *which concludes to the Advantage of theſe latter. The firſt War between the* Carthaginians *and the* Romans. *After various Succeſs on each Side, the* Carthaginians *are obliged to beg Peace; which they obtained not, but upon very hard Conditions. They repair their Loſſes and renew the War.* Hanibal *paſſes into* Italy, *and reduces* Rome *to the very Point of Deſtruction. He is obliged to return into* Africa *to defend his own Country.* Scipio *cuts his Army to pieces and takes* Carthage. *The* Roman *Conqueſts in* Greece *and* Aſia. *The Tribuneſhip of* Tiberius Gracchus *full of Troubles. The Death of that Tribune.*

THE Republick enjoyed a profound Peace both at Home and Abroad; and the People look'd upon the Conſulſhip they had juſt obtained, as a Victory which they had won over the Senate and the *Patricians.* But their Tribunes, who had no way to make themſelves conſiderable, but by

new Diſſenſions, complain'd, that for one *Curule* Dignity, which the *Patricians* had granted to the People, they had got Three new Magiſtracies for themſelves; that the Dignity of Prætor had been created on purpoſe to make them Maſters of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; that they had Two *Curule Ædiles*, whoſe Authority quite annihilated that of the *Plebeian Ædiles*. Therefore they demanded, that all the Offices and Dignities of the State might be equally common to the Nobles and the People; that Merit alone ſhould give the Preference in all Elections; and that without Diſtinction of Rank or Birth, it might be lawful to chuſe indifferently either *Plebeians* or *Patricians* to fill the Civil Poſts, and even thoſe of the Prieſthood it ſelf. This was the common Topick of the Diſcourſes with which theſe turbulent Tribunes entertained the Multitude in their Aſſemblies. They forgot no Elogiums that might make the leaſt Actions of the *Plebeians* ſeem great and glorious, at the ſame Time that they endeavoured to weaken and detract from the greateſt Services of the Nobility. They even applied themſelves to get Intelligence of what paſſed in their private Families, upon which they raiſed ſpiteful and exaggerated Reports, in order to make them contemptible.

New Pretenſions of the Tribunes.

L. Manlius accuſed. Year of Rome, 391.

It was with this Deſign, that under the Conſulſhip of *Q. Servilius Ahala*, and *Lucius Genutius*, a Tribune of the People called *M. Pomponius*, cited L. MANLIUS, who was but juſt out of his Dictatorſhip, under Pretence that this *Patrician* uſed one of his Sons with too much Severity. This Son of MANLIUS, named *Titus*, was born a Stammerer: And as in his Childhood he gave no Proofs of any great Capacity, his Father had confined him to one of his Country-Houſes, where he was employed in Tillage, and other Works of Agriculture; as was practiſed even yet among the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs *Pomponius* made it a Crime in MANLIUS,

LIUS, who beſides was diſagreeable to the People for the Severity he had exerciſed in the Magiſtracies, and in the Armies. The Affair was proſecuted ſo vigorouſly, that no body doubted he would be condemned to pay a conſiderable Fine.

Titus MANLIUS hearing of the Danger his Father was in upon his Account, departs from his Village early in the Morning all alone; goes to *Rome*, and comes to the Door of the Tribune, who was not yet up. He ſends him Word, that the Son of MANLIUS deſired to ſpeak to him about an Affair that would admit of no Delay. The Tribune, fully perſuaded, that he came either to thank him for taking his part, or elſe perhaps to diſcover to him ſome new Proofs of his Father's Severity, order'd him to be brought in. MANLIUS, after having ſaluted him, begg'd leave to talk with him in private. The Tribune's Servants immediately retir'd by his Order. Then the young Man clapped a Dagger to his Throat; and threaten'd to kill him, if he did not bind himſelf by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, to deſiſt from the Proſecution he had begun againſt his Father. The Tribune affrighted, ſwore any Thing that he would have him: But he was no ſooner rid of ſo troubleſome a Gueſt, but he went to the Aſſembly of the People to complain of this Inſult, and demanded to be abſolved from his Oath. The People, more generous, decreed otherwiſe: For the Sake of the Son, they forbid him to carry on his Action any further againſt the Father; and to reward his filial Piety, the young MANLIUS was appointed one of the Tribunes of the Legions: An Employment which the Generals diſpoſed of before, but which the People afterwards took into their own Nomination.

Deliver'd by his Son.

MANLIUS was not long before he ſhow'd, by remarkable Actions of Valour, how worthy he was of his Honour. The *Cis-Alpine Gauls* having again taken Arms to revenge their Defeat, came and in-

New Invaſion of the Gauls.

Year of Rome, 392.

camped Three Miles from *Rome*, near one of the Bridges of the *Teveron*, under the Conſulſhip of L. SULPITIUS and C. LUCINIUS STOLO, the ſame that, during his Tribuneſhip, had in Conjunction with *Sextius*, labour'd ſo hard to procure the Conſulate for the Order of *Plebeians*.

At the Report of the March of theſe formidable Enemies, they immediately nam'd a Dictator; it was *T. Quintius Pennus*, who choſe *Sergius Cornelius Maluginenſis* for General of the Horſe. The *Romans*, under the Command of theſe Generals, immediately advanced to the Banks of the *Teveron:* Nothing but the River parted them from the Enemy. A *Gaul*, of an enormous Size, and who look'd more like a Giant than an ordinary Man, advanced upon the Bridge, and challenged the braveſt of the *Romans*. His big Limbs intimidated the ſtouteſt. *Manlius* alone thought he had now found a Danger worthy his Valour; he aſked leave of his General to fight the *Gaul:* " I am in " hopes, *ſays he*, to ſhow this *Barbarian*, that I " come of a Family fatal to his Nation, and of " which the Chief precipitated the *Gauls* from the " Top of the Capitol." *Go*, ſays the Dictator, *and be as couragious for the Glory of thy Country, as thou waſt for the Defence of thy Father.* The two Champions were not long before they engaged; and TITUS MANLIUS joining Art to Valour, ſlew his Enemy, and took from him a gold Chain that he wore about his Neck, and put it about his own, as a Monument of his Victory. This got him the Sirname of *Torquatus*, which afterwards deſcended to his Poſterity. The Succeſs of this ſingle Combat appear'd to the *Gauls* to be ſo ill an Omen of the whole Courſe of the War, that they abandon'd their Camp in the Night, and retir'd with all the haſte they could make.

Combat between T. Manlius *and a* Gaul. Liv. l. 7. Oroſ. l. 3. c. 5. Florus, l. 1. c. 13.

Some Years afterwards a new Army of *Gauls* over-run the Territories of the *Romans*. L. *Furius* Ca-

Camillus, the Conſul, Son of the Dictator, march- *Year of*
ed againſt them; and M. VALERIUS had the ſame Rome,
Advantage as MANLIUS over another *Gaul*, whom 404.
that *Roman* vanquiſh'd in ſingle Combat. It *Combat*
is ſaid, that a Raven which perched upon his Hel- *between*
met during the Fight, contributed with his Beak M. Valeri-
and Claws to the Defeat of his Adverſary, which us *and a*
gave the Name of *Corvus* to *Valerius*, and to his Gaul.
Deſcendants that of *Corvinus*. But without dwel- Liv. l. 7.
ling upon the Miracle of this Event, we ſhall on- Gell. l. 9.
ly obſerve, that in this ſecond War the ſingle c. 11.
Fight was followed by a general Battle, and with Val. Max.
the ſame Succeſs; the *Gauls* were defeated, and l. 3. c. 2.
thoſe that eſcaped left the *Roman* Dominions, and were ſome Time before they return'd again.

This was not the only Nation jealous of the *Ambition*
Power and Conqueſts of the *Romans*; all thoſe *and Policy*
petty States, which under different Names inha- *of* Rome.
bited *Latium* and *Tuſcany*, were almoſt continually at War with them. The *Samnites* afterwards declared againſt them; and the *Romans* could never have ſubdued them all, if they had not found a Way to ſow Diviſion among them. But to keep thoſe People, that were neareſt *Rome*, firm to its Intereſt, they flatter'd them with the Title of Allies of the *Roman* Nation; and when they had made themſelves Maſters of the more diſtant Countries, thoſe who had ſuffer'd themſelves to be lull'd aſleep with this Name of Allies, found themſelves involved in their Conqueſts; and then, though they retain'd that Name, they were treated as Subjects. They durſt not make War, without the Conſent of the Senate, and were obliged to furniſh their Contingent of Troops, to aſſiſt the *Romans* in extending their Empire and Dominion. Such was the Conduct of theſe artful Politicians; we may find in the Progreſs of their Arms, the Fruits of a Scheme of Ambition very well laid; and what is moſt ſingular, is, that theſe eternal De-

Year of Rome, 393. *War with the* Hernici.

fenders of Liberty were themſelves the Oppreſſors of the natural Rights of Men, and the Tyrants of all *Italy*. The *Hernici*, who had been almoſt a whole Age in their Dependance, firſt undertook to withdraw themſelves from it. All, even the old Men, took Arms to recover their Liberty. *Genutius*, the *Plebeian* Conſul, was ſent againſt them. This was the firſt of that Order that ever had the Command of an Army. The *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, out of different Motives, impatiently expected what would be the Succeſs of this War. *Genutius* fell into an Ambuſh, where he was ſlain, and moſt of his Troops cut to pieces.

Liv. l. 7. Oroſ. l. 3. c. 5.

The *Patricians* taking Advantage of this Defeat of the *Plebeian* Conſul, to mortify the *Tribunes*, and leſſen their Credit, reproach'd the People, that the Gods had at length ſeverely revenged the Profanation of their *Auſpices*, and puniſh'd a Man who preſumed upon an unjuſt Law, to appropriate them to himſelf like a *Patrician*.

The People and their *Tribunes*, confounded and abaſhed, made no Reply. They were forc'd in this Misfortune to have Recourſe to a Dictator. The Nobility procured that Office for *Appius Claudius*, the Grandſon of the *Decemvir*, the Man of all the *Patricians*, moſt jealous of the Privileges of his Birth, and the Prerogatives of his Order. He immediately raiſed a new Army, marched againſt the Enemy, and after a ſharp and bloody Fight gained a glorious Victory. I omit the ſeveral little Battles that were afterwards fought againſt the *Privernates*, the *Faliſci*, the *Tarquinians*, and the *Veliterni*. All theſe Nations did not ſo much make War as Incurſions upon the *Romans*. If they were beaten, either they begg'd Peace, or elſe ſhut themſelves up in their Towns, without daring to appear in the Field again. The *Tuſcans* afterwards aroſe in their Place, and came next upon the Stage. They were, as we ſaid before, a

Appius Claudius *Dictator.*

League

League or Community of twelve Nations, or twelve petty States, whoſe Power however was not inconſiderable, when their Forces were united. This War ſeemed of Importance enough to be committed to the Conduct of a Dictator; and notwithſtanding all the Struggles of the Senate and *Patricians*, *C. Martius* RUTILUS, tho' a *Plebeian*, was nominated to that Dignity. He choſe for his General of the Horſe another *Plebeian*, named *C. Plautius*. *A Plebeian, Dictator.* Liv. l. 7. Diod. Lib. 16.

The Senate, who had not been able to hinder the Election of a *Plebeian* Dictator, forgot no means to croſs his Preparations, and to diſable him from acquiring any Glory. The People, with a contrary View, ran with the greateſt Alacrity to liſt themſelves under his Banners: He quickly had raiſed a powerful Army; and as he was both a Soldier and a Captain, he defeated the *Tuſcans*, cut their Army to pieces, took eight Thouſand Priſoners, and at his Return, in ſpight of the Senate's Oppoſition, obtained the Honours of a Triumph. Thus the People by degrees got a ſhare with the Nobility, in all the Honours and Dignities of the Republick. They were already in Poſſeſſion of the *Curule Ædility*, though Hiſtorians do not mention the Names of the two firſt *Plebeians* that were inveſted with it. *Philo*, another *Plebeian*, ſome Time afterwards arrived at the Prætorſhip; and the *Martius* we juſt now ſpoke of, raiſed himſelf by his Courage and Virtue, even to the Dignity of Cenſor. After this Time, though the Diſtinction between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* yet ſubſiſted, it was not ſo much Birth as the Curule Dignities that gave Nobility; and in the Courſe of this Hiſtory we ſhall ſee *Plebeians* reckoned among the Chief and moſt Noble of the Republick, becauſe they deſcended from Anceſtors that had enjoyed thoſe Curule Dignities. *Year of Rome, 397.* *A Plebeian, Cenſor.*

The *Romans*, after having triumphed over the *Sabines*, the *Tuſcans*, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, the

War againſt the Samnites. *Year of* Rome, 410.

Æqui, the *Volſci*, and all their petty Neighbours, turned their Arms againſt the *Samnites*, who inhabited that part of *Italy*, which is now called *Abruzzo*; a fierce and warlike Nation, who yielded to the *Romans* neither in Valour nor Military Diſcipline, and who, like *Rome*, had Subjects and Allies, who followed their Fortune.

Between two equal Powers bordering upon each other, it is needleſs to look for any other Cauſe of War, but mutual Jealouſy and Competition. Thus the Subject, or to ſpeak more properly, the Pretence of this Rupture was, that the *Samnites* undertook to ſubdue the *Sidicini*, and the *Capuans*; and that the *Romans*, who were not for having the *Samnites* ſo powerful, oppoſed their Conqueſts.

The War began by the *Sidicini*, a little State, of which the *Samnites* endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters. The *Sidicini* had Recourſe to thoſe of *Capua*, who undertook their Defence with more Oſtentation than Power. The *Capuans* indeed poſſeſſed a very fruitful Country, and Commerce every Day added to their Riches. But this Wealth of private Perſons was the Weakneſs of the State. The Houſes were magnificent; the City without Fortifications. Luxury reigned throughout; the Purſe-proud Merchant miſtook his Vanity for Courage, and look'd with Contempt upon Enemies that were not ſo rich as he.

This Preſumption, and indiſcreet Contempt of their Enemies Strength, was the Occaſion of their Ruin. The *Samnites*, who had a Proſpect of more Glory and Advantage in the Conqueſt of them than of the *Sidicini*, turned their Arms againſt them. It ſoon came to a Battle; the *Capuans* were defeated in two great Conflicts, in which they loſt all their Youth; and the Conquerors who had no Obſtacle now left in their Way, marched on to a City

City which had no Defence but weak Walls, and Inhabitants filled with Conſternation.

The Magiſtrates in this Diſtreſs applied themſelves to *Rome*. They ſent a celebrated Embaſſy to implore the Alliance and Succour of the *Romans*. Their Ambaſſadors laid before the Senate all the Motives either of Glory, or of Intereſt, that could engage the Republick to take them into their Protection, the Extremity to which they were reduced, and the Power of their Enemies, which would grow yet far more conſiderable, by the Conqueſt of a City ſo rich as *Capua*. *Such*, added thoſe Ambaſſadors, *is the Wretchedneſs of our preſent Condition, that if we are not inſtantly relieved by our Friends, we muſt fall into the Hands of our Enemies. If you defend us, you will gain your ſelves Allies, that will ever after look upon you as the Reſtorers of their State, and the ſecond Founders of their City. If you abandon us,* Capua *is no more, or at beſt becomes ſubject to the* Samnites.

The Capuans *ſend Embaſſadors to* Rome.

Livy, l. 7.

The Senate were no Strangers to theſe Conſiderations; but as their Deſign was to get a more ſolid and real Advantage from the Aſſiſtance of their Arms, than a vain Title, and empty Praiſes, they barely anſwered the Ambaſſadors by the Mouth of the Conſul, that their preſent Condition ſeemed worthy of Pity, and the *Romans* wiſhed they cou'd with Honour ſuccour them; but that the Republick had an ancient Alliance with the *Samnites*, which would not allow them to make a new one with their Enemies; that the Senate however would ſend Deputies to the Camp of the *Samnites*, to interpoſe in their Behalf, and to endeavour to procure them a Treaty of Peace, upon Conditions as eaſy as poſſible.

The Chief of the Embaſſy, who was let into the ſecret of it, found he muſt make more advantageous Propoſals, before they ſhould induce the Senate to undertake the Defence of *Capua*. The Magiſtrates,

giſtrates, who before his Departure, too well perceived that all that was now left them, was at moſt the Choice of their Maſters, being inclinable rather to ſubmit to Strangers, than to be ſubject to their Neighbours, had ordered this Ambaſſador, that if he could not obtain them the Quality of Allies to *Rome*, he ſhould rather make them its Subjects, than ſuffer *Capua* to fall into the Power of the *Samnites*. He therefore made anſwer to the Conſul, that though the *Romans* would grant them nothing as Allies, he hoped however the Senate would not let the *Samnites* poſſeſs themſelves of a City and Country, which he was charged to put under their Dominion.: "In Conſequence of "which, added that Ambaſſador, we now give "you, and ſubject to your Laws, the City of *Ca-*"*pua*, our Country, Dominions, Temples, and "Perſons. We acknowledge you for our Sove-"reigns, and proteſt in the Preſence of Gods and "Men, that we will preſerve an inviolable Fide-"lity to you.

Capua given up to the Romans.

The Senate having brought the Negotiation to the deſired Point, ſolemnly accepted of the Donation of *Capua*. And as they were always willing to have Juſtice of their Side, or at leaſt the Appearances of that Virtue, they ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Samnites*, to inform them of this Treaty; and at the ſame Time to deſire them, in virtue of their ancient Alliance, to withdraw their Army out of a Country that belonged to the *Roman* People.

The *Samnites* enraged, that they ſhould thus pretend to put a Stop to the Progreſs of their Arms, and to ſnatch the City of *Capua* almoſt out of their very Hands, cried out againſt this Treaty, as a mere Trick. Their Magiſtrates with Indignation rejected the Propoſal of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and when they went out of the Council, gave Orders to their General in their Preſence, to deſtroy all before him in the Territory of *Capua*, with

with Fire and Sword. This was a very plain Explication of their Minds. Accordingly these new Hostilities were followed by a Declaration of War between the Two Nations. The Senate gave the Conduct of it to *M. Valerius Corvus*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. This War began the Four Hundred and Eleventh Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. It was pushed on, through the whole Course of it, with equal Animosity on both Sides, and though sometimes interrupted with short Truces, it still began again with the same Fury. The *Cis-Alpine Gauls*, the *Tuscans*, the *Tarentines*, the *Latins*, and even the *Greeks* and *Africans*, took part in it. *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, the greatest Captain of his Age, crossed the Sea in Favour of the *Tarentines*. And the *Carthaginians*, who now began to get Footing in *Sicily*, and aimed at the total Subjection of it, sent them divers Succours to put a Stop to the *Roman* Conquests. It was a Flame that by degrees spread all over *Italy*, and which was not quenched without whole Streams of Blood. Many great Battels were fought, and with various Success. The *Romans*, at first Victors, but afterwards vanquished, but never discouraged, took Arms again with fresh Obstinacy. Being indifferent, and, as it were, unconcern'd at their own Defeat. Such a Thing as Flight was not known in their Armies. The Soldier was resolved to conquer or die; and more *Romans* were punished for having fought without Orders, than for having given Ground, or quitted their Posts. At length, after almost a continual War for above Threescore and ten Years, the Courage of the *Romans*, and the heroic Valour that appeared in the common Soldiers as well as in the Officers; their Patience in Labours, their Military Discipline, but above all the Love of their Country, gave them a compleat Triumph over their Enemies. The Nation of the *Samnites* was almost destroyed: *Pyrrhus* was driven out of *Italy*: *Tarentum* was taken, and its Walls demo-

Year of Rome, 410.

Importance of the War with the Samnites.

Pyrrhus *in* Italy.

Tarentum *taken.*

Year of Rome, 417.

demoliſhed. And *L. Furius Camillus Conſul*, giving the Senate an Account of the Extremity to which he had reduced the *Latins*: *The Gods*, ſays he to the Senators, *have made you ſo powerful, that it now depends on your Will whether* Latium *ſhall be any more.*

The *Romans* granted not Peace to the vanquiſhed Nations, but on very hard Conditions. The Senate, according to their uſual Politicks, took from each a Part of their Territories. But this Policy being carried too far, ruined the Country, and afterwards occaſioned even in *Rome* it ſelf, very dangerous Seditions. The Great by a mutual Connivance, appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe Lands. Their Poſſeſſions by degrees grew to be petty States, which they peopled with the infinite Number of Slaves they had made in ſo long a War. And the Original Huſbandmen being deſpoiled of their Inheritance, deſerted a Country where they could no longer ſubſiſt.

The Great ſeize all.

The People, and their *Tribunes*, renewed their Complaints againſt an Abuſe almoſt as ancient as the Conſtitution of the Republick. They endeavoured to revive the Regulation of LICINIUS, and the Decree that fixed the Poſſeſſions of every *Roman* Citizen to Five Hundred Acres at moſt; but the Laws were not heard amidſt the Noiſe of Arms. There were then ſo many, both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, Infractors of this Law, that it was in vain to hope to reform them. The Attempt had certainly been without Succeſs; being joint Accomplices in the ſame Uſurpation, and all at the Head of Armies, or in the chief Poſts of the Commonwealth, nothing cou'd withſtand their Power; and the Wars that ſoon after happened with the *Carthaginians*, left them no Leiſure to take care of new Regulations at Home.

Hitherto we have ſeen the Arms of the Republick employed only in the Continent of *Italy*.

The

The *Romans* were almoſt Five Hundred Years before they could ſubdue the *Latins*, the *Tuſcans*, the *Samnites* and their Allies. But they had no ſooner fixed their Dominion in thoſe great Provinces, that ſtretch quite from the *Rubicon*, to the furtheſt Extremity of *Italy*, but they thought of paſſing the Sea. The Succour given by the *Carthaginians* to the *Tarentines* was the Pretence, but the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, the true Cauſe. *Rome* and *Carthage* bent their whole Forces againſt each other. The Neighbourhood and Jealouſy of theſe two great Commonwealths, bred between them a moſt bloody War, of which *Sicily* was the firſt Stage. This War afterwards was carried into *Africa*, from whence it extended into *Spain* and *Italy*. We ſhall relate the various Events of it but very conciſely, that we may not wander too far from the principal Subject of this Work. *The Romans croſs the Sea.*

Carthage, a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, was built upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, near the Place where the City of *Tunis* now ſtands, about a Hundred and Thirty Seven Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Lybia* acknowledged her Empire. She always maintained ſtrong Fleets, which made her Miſtreſs of the Sea and of Commerce, and which had extended her Dominion quite to the Coaſts of *Spain*, and in the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Corſica*, and *Sardinia*. *Origin of Carthage.*

All her Citizens were Merchants. A continual Traffick had acquired them ſuch great Riches, that they deſpiſed the Profeſſion of Arms. If they happened to be engaged in a War, they bought Troops, and were often forced to hire their very Generals. This trading Republick thought their Money was every Thing. *Rome*, on the contrary, nurſed in her Boſom a hardy Militia. All her Citizens were Soldiers; not a Man was exempted from going to the War; the Foot Soldier was obliged to ſerve Twenty Years, and the Horſeman Ten, *Compariſon between Rome and Carthage.*

Ten, before he could get his Diſcharge; and very few ever ſolicited for it. Whenever there was occaſion to march to the Field, you might have ſeen the *Veteran* offering himſelf with the ſame Ardor as the youngeſt, and all reſolved either to conquer or die.

Such was the State of theſe Two Republicks, when the War between them broke out. The Power of the one lay in her Legions and Land Forces; and the other was no leſs formidable in her Fleets and Naval Armies. The *Romans* ſhut up in the Continent of *Italy*, had no Experience in Marine Affairs. *Appius Claudius*, Conſul, Son of the Dictator, whom we juſt now ſpoke of, and Brother of *Appius Claudius*, the Blind, was the firſt, that by the Help of a few Floats, tranſported Troops into *Sicily*; which gave him the Name of *Caudex*, as having found out the Art of faſtening Planks together to make Tranſports. Theſe Floats quickly came to be Ships and Gallies, among a People diligent, ingenious, and not to be diſcouraged by Labour, who improved by every Thing, and learnt of their very Enemies, the Art and Means of conquering them. A *Carthaginian* Gally, drove by Streſs of Weather upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, ſerved the *Romans* for a Model to build the like. They laboured at their new Invention with ſo much Eagerneſs, that in Two Months Time *Duillius* put to Sea a Fleet, which defeated that of the *Carthaginians*. The Joy which *Rome* conceived at this firſt Naval Victory, made them, in order to preſerve the Memory of it, give a kind of Perpetuity to the Conqueror's Triumph; and *Duillius*, with the Conſent of the Senate, every Time that he returned from feaſting with his Friends for the Remainder of his Life, was brought Home with Flambeaux, and with the Sound of Flutes.

Appius croſſes the Sea the firſt. Year of Rome, 489. Polyb. L. 1. Zonaras, L. 2.

Cic. de Senectute. Val. Max. L. 3. C. 6. Flo. L. 2. Polyb. *Year of* Rome, 493.

We

We ſhall not dwell upon the Conſequences of this War, which are not to our Subject, nor upon the Battels and Sieges that happened in *Sicily*: It is enough to obſerve, that the *Romans* having made themſelves Maſters of *Agrigentum*, and of the chief Towns in that Iſland; that having taken *Aleria*, the Capital of *Corſica*, and *Olbia* in *Sardinia*, they carried the War, and the Terror of their Arms, to the very Gates of *Carthage*. *First Punic War.*

L. MANLIUS, and Q. *Ceditius*, Conſuls, were intruſted with the Care of this Expedition; but *Ceditius* dying in his Conſulate, he was ſucceeded by M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, a Conſular Perſon, and a great Captain, auſtere in his Manners, as ſtrict over himſelf as over others, and that ſtill retained the Temperance and Diſintereſtedneſs of the firſt *Romans*. *Victories of* Manlius *and of* Attilius Regulus *over* Carthage.

Theſe Two Generals ſet ſail with a Fleet of Three Hundred and Forty Ships, with a Hundred and Forty Thouſand Land Forces. The *Carthaginians* ſent againſt them a Fleet as numerous, compoſed of lighter Ships, and that were better Sailers. But the *Carthaginian* Soldier was far from equalling the *Roman* in Valour. The Fight was long and obſtinate, and Fortune more than once went over from one Side to the other. While rather the Ships fought than the Men, the *Carthaginians* got the better by their Skill and Experience; but the *Romans*, whoſe Ships were clumſily built, heavy and unmanageable, having grappled with thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, they began to fight Foot to Foot, and as it were on firm Land. Then the Valour of the *Romans*, who fought in the Preſence of their Conſuls, prevailed over Strangers, and Auxiliary Troops, who make War as they would drive a Trade, only for their Bread, without deſire of Glory, or Zeal for the Cauſe they ſerve. The *Carthaginian* Fleet diſperſed in Flight, and left the Paſſage free to the *Romans*, who landing upon *Year of* Rome, 497.

upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, took the Town *Cl*. at the firſt Onſet, and afterwards ravaged the Enemies Country, from whence they brought off Twenty Thouſand Captives.

Polyb. L. 1. Zonaras. Eutrop. Oroſius. Florus.

The Conſuls ſent Advice to *Rome* of this Victory, and deſir'd new Orders. The Senate returned Anſwer, that they would have MANLIUS bring back part of the Fleet to *Italy*, to defend the Conqueſts in *Sicily*, and that REGULUS ſhould carry on the War in *Africa*. The Time of his Conſulate being expired, he was continued in the ſame Employment with the Title of Pro-Conſul; but ſoon after he deſired a Succeſſor, and his Diſcharge, upon Information which he had received, that the Farmer who cultivated Seven Acres of Land, which was this General's whole Inheritance, was dead, and that his Servant had ſtole his Utenſils of Tillage. REGULUS repreſented to the Senate in his Letter, that his Wife and Children were in danger of ſtarving, if he himſelf did not come to repair the State of his Affairs by his own Preſence and Labour. The Senate, that they might not interrupt the Courſe of REGULUS's Victories, decreed that his Wife and Children ſhould be provided with Neceſſaries, and his Land cultivated at the Publick Charge, and that new Inſtruments ſhould be bought for the Tillage of it; A very ſmall Reward if we look to the Value; but more honourable to the Memory of that virtuous *Roman*, than all thoſe Pompous Titles, with which we daily varniſh the Poſſeſſions of thoſe Upſtarts, that enriched themſelves only by Rapine, and whoſe Names will be known to Poſterity, only by the Calamities which their Avarice occaſioned in the Countries where they made War.

Regulus's *Poverty and Diſintereſtedneſs*, Val. Max. L. 4. c. 4.

MANLIUS brought back to the Coaſt of *Italy* part of the Fleet laden with Booty, and Seven and twenty Thouſand Priſoners. REGULUS on his Side, having received the Orders of the Senate, went

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on with his Conqueſts. The *Carthaginians* were reſolved to put a ſtop to them; they ventured a Battel, wherein they were defeated, and loſt their beſt Troops. This new Victory finiſhed the throwing the whole Country into a Conſternation; above fourſcore Places ſurrendered to the *Romans*. The *Numidians*, the ancient Subjects of *Carthage*, roſe at the ſame time, and plundered the Country; and the Peaſants, who fled every where from their Habitations, flung themſelves into *Carthage*, where by their Numbers, and extreme Want, they quickly brought Famine and Contagion.

Regulus defeats the Carthaginians.

The *Carthaginians*, who had no Leaders nor Generals among themſelves of ſufficient Experience, to be oppoſed to REGULUS, ſent as far as *Lacedæmon*, to offer the Command of their Armies to *Xantippus*, a Captain famous in his own Country, and throughout all *Greece*; and at the ſame time they diſpatched the principal Men of their Senate to demand Peace of REGULUS. This General, who would have been very glad to have returned to *Rome*, with the Glory of having put an End to this War, did not refuſe to enter into Negotiation. But as he held *Carthage* inveſted by different Bodies of his Troops, which were Maſters of all the Poſts round it, and there was no Army on foot able to oblige him to raiſe the Siege; he expected to preſcribe the Terms of the Treaty, and demanded that the *Carthaginians* ſhould put into his Hands the Places they ſtill poſſeſſed in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; that they ſhould freely reſtore the Priſoners they had taken; and that beſides paying a Ranſom for their Countrymen, they ſhould defray the Charges of the War, and ſubject themſelves to an Annual Tribute. REGULUS further inſiſted, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not make either War or Alliance, without the Participation of the Senate; that they ſhould have but one ſingle great Ship; and that whenever they received Orders from

Carthage ſends for Succour as far as Lacedæmon.

Carthage inveſted, asks peace.

Rome, they ſhould be obliged to ſend Fifty Gallies compleatly equipped for War, to ſerve wherever the Intereſt of the Republick ſhould make it requiſite.

The Deputies of *Carthage* repreſented to the *Roman* General the Hardneſs of theſe Conditions. But REGULUS, who thought himſelf Maſter of the Country, anſwer'd haughtily, *That Enemies muſt either conquer, or ſubmit to the Law of the Conqueror.* They parted without concluding upon any Thing; and the *Carthaginian* Magiſtrates, enrag'd that the *Romans* ſhould endeavour to impoſe ſuch Conditions upon them, as muſt reduce them to little leſs than Slavery, cauſed all the Inhabitants to take Arms. *Xantippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, arrived about the ſame time, put himſelf at their Head; and having rallied what Troops they had left, marched out into the open Field, and offer'd Battel to the *Romans*. He choſe out for his Camp a Plain, where the Elephants he had in his Army might have an Opportunity of fighting; and more advantageous to the Cavalry, wherein he exceeded the *Romans*. REGULUS, in the ſame Policy, and as being the ſtronger in Infantry, ought to have kept to the Mountains and Heights; but his Soldiers deſpiſing the *Greek* General, and Troops which they had ſo often vanquiſh'd, demanded the Fight with great Shouts. REGULUS had not Power to reſtrain them; the Battel was fought in the Plain; he was defeated; his Foot could not withſtand the Enemies Horſe. The *Romans* loſt above thirty Thouſand Men of their own Nation and Allies; and the General himſelf was made Priſoner. The *Carthaginians* treated him very roughly, and more like a Criminal, than a Priſoner of War. They loaded him with Chains, and buried him in a Dungeon, where he was kept almoſt Four Years. There he muſt have periſhed; but the *Carthaginians* having in that time loſt ſeveral conſidera-

Regulus worſted and taken.

Year of Rome, 498.

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ble Battels both by Sea and Land, they took REGULUS out of his Priſon to ſend him to *Rome*, to ſollicit a Peace, or at leaſt an Exchange of Priſoners. The Magiſtrates, before they put him on Board, exacted a Promiſe from him, that if he could obtain no Conditions of the *Romans*, he ſhould come back to *Carthage*, and return to his Chains. It was further hinted to him, that his Life depended upon the Succeſs of his Negotiation.

It was none of the Senate's Fault, that a Peace was not concluded, or at leaſt the Exchange of Priſoners agreed to. That Body thought they could not purchaſe too dear the Liberty and Safety of ſuch a Citizen as REGULUS. But the greateſt Obſtacle to the Concluſion of the Treaty, came from the very Man that was commiſſioned to negotiate it. REGULUS being arrived at *Rome*, laid before the Senate, that by a little Conſtancy, and continuing the War, they would be ſure to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*; that as to the Exchange of Priſoners, the whole Advantage would be on the Side of the Enemy, whoſe chief Officers, and beſt Soldiers, were detained at *Rome*; whereas the *Carthaginians* had but few *Romans*, and thoſe, Men advanc'd in Years, or Cowards, from whom no Service could be expected. In a word, this generous *Roman* argued ſo forcibly againſt his own Intereſt, that he made them reſolve upon the Continuation of the War. And without entring his Houſe, or ſeeing either his Wife or Children, for fear of being ſoften'd by their Tears, he return'd to *Carthage*, to diſengage his Word; he periſh'd there in the moſt cruel Torments.

Zonaras. App. Alex. in Lybicâ. Gell. l. 6. Val. Max. l. 6. & 9. l. Flor. Autor de viris illuſt.

Year of Rome, 506.

The two Nations again took up Arms with the ſame Animoſity. The Succeſs was various: At length two Sea-Fights, in which the *Romans* had the better, one under the Command of *M. Fabius Buteo*, Conſul, and the other under that of *C. Lu-*

Year of Rome, 511.

The firſt Peace granted to Carthage.

tatius Catulus, forced the *Carthaginians* to ſue for Peace again. *Rome* granted it; but *Rome* inflexible, and ſometimes even cruel to vanquiſh'd Enemies, gave them not Peace, but upon very hard Conditions. They were forced to deliver up to the *Romans* the Town and Port of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*; to abandon that Iſland entirely; to reſtore all Priſoners without Ranſom; to yield up all Deſerters; to pay down a thouſand Talents for the Charge of the War, and two Thouſand two Hundred in ten Years, by way of Tribute. The *Carthaginians*, quite exhauſted, ſubſcrib'd to any thing, and the Treaty was concluded under the Conſulate of *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* in the 512th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*.

Liv. l. 30.

Second Punic *War.* App. Alex. in Lybicâ. *Year of* Rome, 535.

But it was not ſo much a Peace as a Truce. The *Carthaginians* being the weakeſt, ſtruck it up only to gain Time to repair their Forces. They no ſooner found themſelves in a Condition to maintain a new War, but they took up Arms again with more Fury than ever. The Siege they laid to *Saguntium*, a Town of *Spain*, in Alliance with the *Romans*, was the Pretence of this War, and HANNIBAL the real Author of it. He was born a Soldier, and a continual Exerciſe of Arms made him a great Captain. It was in this War, that he gave ſuch glorious Proofs of thoſe ſuperior Talents, which ſet him ſo much above the *Roman* Generals; always juſt in his Schemes; immenſe Views; an admirable Genius at hitting the true Time for the Execution of his Deſigns; the greateſt Artifice in acting, without being diſcover'd; infinite in Expedients; as ſkilful in recovering himſelf out of Danger, as in drawing others into it; for the reſt, without Faith, without Religion, without Humanity, and yet having the Art to put on all the Appearances of theſe Virtues, as far as was ſubſervient to his Intereſt.

Hannibal's *Character.*

Such

Such was the famous HANNIBAL, when he form'd the boldeſt Project that ever Captain durſt conceive, and which was juſtified by nothing but the Event. From the very remoteſt Part of *Spain*, he reſolved to carry the War into *Italy*, and to attack the *Romans* in the very Centre of their Dominions, without having there one ſtrong Place, one Magazine, any certain Aſſiſtance, or the leaſt Hopes of a Retreat. He marches quite through the Heart of *Spain* and *Gaul*, paſſes the *Alps*, and encamps boldly upon the very Banks of the *Teſin*. It was here that the firſt Battel was fought; the *Romans* were defeated, and the Conſul, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, their General, muſt have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, if his Son, *Publius Scipio*, had not flown to his Aſſiſtance. This young Man, who was but Seventeen Years old, ſeeing his Father encloſed by a Body of the Enemy, broke his Way alone quite up to him, diſpers'd with his Sword all that ſurrounded him, and brought him off, juſt as he was upon the Point of being taken or ſlain. *Hannibal goes into Italy.* *Battle of the Teſin.* *Year of Rome, 535.*

As the Particulars of this War are not to my Subject, I ſhall only obſerve, that the *Romans*, under the Command and Conſulate of *Tiberius Sempronius*, *Scipio*'s Colleague, loſt a Second Battel near the River *Trebia*. The Overthrow which *Flaminius* received near the Lake *Traſumenus*, was ſtill greater; and the Defeat at *Cannæ* drove *Rome* to the very Brink of Deſtruction. The Republick loſt fifty Thouſand Men; and the Conqueror ſent to *Carthage* two Buſhels of Gold Rings, to ſhow the incredible Number of *Roman* Knights that were ſlain in this Battle. This Day had been (if I may ſo ſay) the laſt the *Romans* would ever have ſeen, if HANNIBAL had known as well how to make uſe of his Victory, as he knew how to obtain it. All he had to do, was to appear before the Gates of the City, and he had been Maſter of it without ſtri- *Year of Rome, 536.* *Year of Rome, 537.* *The Battles of Trebia, Traſumenus, and Cannæ.*

king a Blow. The Conſternation was general in *Rome*, and all the Parts adjacent. But the *Carthaginian* General, tho' one of his Officers aſſur'd him he might ſup in the Capitol, ſuffer'd himſelf to be overcome by the Pleaſures of *Capua*; pretending that he muſt give his Troops a little Repoſe, he ſtaid in *Campania* after his Victory; and as if he had been afraid of putting an End to the War too ſoon, or had acted in Concert with the *Romans*, he gave them time to recover out of their Conſternation. This ſmall Interval was the firſt Step to their Preſervation. The young SCIPIO had the Wiſdom to take the Advantage of it, and he who had ſaved his Father's Life in the Battle of the *Teſin*, ſaved all *Italy* after the Battle of *Cannæ*.

Scipio *ſaves* Italy.

He was then no more than a Tribune in a Legion; and the Evening after the Battel, he was retir'd with a great many other Officers into a Neighbouring Town, which ſtill held for the *Romans*. SCIPIO was inform'd, that thoſe Officers who were of the beſt Families in *Rome*, and the only Hope which the Republick had left, being aſſembled at the Houſe of *Metellus*, and deſpairing to ſave the Commonwealth, were reſolv'd to embark at the firſt Port, and abandon *Italy*. So baſe a Thought ſtirr'd up his utmoſt Indignation; he reſolved to oppoſe it, though with the Hazard of his Life, and turning to ſome other Officers that happen'd to be with him: *Let thoſe*, ſays he, *who value the Safety of* Rome, *follow me*. He goes directly to the Houſe where the aforeſaid Council was held, enters, and drawing his Sword, "I ſwear, ſays he, that I will never abandon the "Republick, nor ſuffer any of her Citizens to do "it." And then turning to the Maſter of the Houſe; "You, ſays he, and all that are here, ſhall "take the ſame Oath, or not a Man ſhall eſcape "my Sword." Theſe Threats, the Fire and Rage

Livy, Dec. 3. l. 2. c. 12.

Rage that flaſhed from his Eyes, his Zeal for his Country, his Courage, his Intrepidity, all theſe made them immediately come into the ſame Engagement. The very Shame of having been diſcovered in ſuch a Deſign, recalled their ancient Valour; they mutually gave each other their Faith, and vowed rather to be buried under the Ruins of their Country, than to deſert her. Every Man diſperſed the next Morning. Some repaired to *Rome*, to defend it, if the Enemy ſhould lay Siege to it. Others laboured either to rally the Fugitives, or to raiſe new Levies about the Country. The Inhabitants of *Rome*, who expected every Moment to have ſeen HANNIBAL at their Gates, began to take Breath. The Senate gathered Courage; the meaner Sort of People ſhook off their Fear; and though there was at *Rome* neither Men, nor Arms, nor Money, all theſe Defects were made up by that Love of their Country, which was the true Character of a *Roman*. Some freely gave their Slaves to ſerve as Soldiers; others ſtrove who ſhould firſt bring in what Gold or Silver they had; and they took down from the Roofs of the Temples old Arms, which had been hung up there as Trophies, and with theſe they armed part of this new Militia.

The War began again with freſh Spirit. The Senate gave the Management of it to Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, who, by avoiding a Battel, hit upon the true way to conquer HANNIBAL. The General of the *Carthaginians* ſtood, as it were, in need of continual Succeſs, to enable him to maintain himſelf in a Country ſo remote from his own, and where he was often without Money or Proviſions, and where he could get no Supplies from *Africa*. His whole Reliance was upon the infinite Affection of his Soldiers, who perfectly adored him. One can never enough admire how in an Army, conſiſting of Soldiers picked up by Chance, *Numidians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, Q. Fabius *the Temporizer.*

and *Ligurians*, who often wanted Bread, the bare Preſence of HANNIBAL ſhould prevent the leaſt Murmuring; and that all, without ſo much as underſtanding the Language of one another, ſhould jointly conſpire to give Succeſs to their General's Deſigns.

But notwithſtanding his great Capacity, he muſt at laſt give way to the Conduct and Fortune of the *Romans*. They reſumed over him the Superiority they had loſt by the former Battles; he now learnt, that in Affairs of War, there are ſome favourable and deciſive Moments, which once loſt, never return. And the young SCIPIO being become General, taught him by ſevere Experience, that he was capable of being conquered.

Scipio Africanus.

Year of Rome, 541.

Liv. Dec. 3. 5.

His Father CORNELIUS P. SCIPIO, and *Cneius*, his Uncle, both periſhed in *Spain*, commanding the Armies of the Republick. By the Death of theſe two Brothers, *Spain* had been entirely loſt from the *Romans*, if an ordinary Knight, *L. Martius*, had not rallied the Fugitives, and defeated one of the Two *Aſdrubals*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* Army in thoſe Provinces: Nevertheleſs no body at *Rome* cared to put up for the Conduct of the War, in a Country where the Enemy was yet ſo much the ſtronger. The young SCIPIO, though ſcarce four and twenty Years old, offered himſelf, thinking it was only his Buſineſs to revenge the Death of his Father and Uncle. He was ſent thither with the Title of Proconſul; he beat the Enemies Generals upon ſeveral Occaſions, and Five Years after his Arrival, there was not a *Carthaginian* left in *Spain*.

Livy.

Year of Rome, 542.

Polyb. l. 10.

Scipio paſſes over to Africa.

From thence he paſſed over to *Africa*, almoſt contrary to the Will of the Senate; and as his Undertaking ſeemed raſh and preſumptuous, the Republick at firſt would not ſupply him either with Troops or Money. His Reputation, Valour, and Affability, procured him Soldiers. They ſtrove

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who ſhould firſt liſt himſelf under ſo great a Captain: he was ſoon at the Head of a conſiderable Army. He was a Second *Hannibal*; he had all his Virtues without his Faults. He landed in *Africa*, while the *Carthaginians* were continuing the War in *Italy*.

He firſt gained over to the Side of the Republick, the two Kings, *Syphax* and *Maſſiniſſa*. The former afterwards changed his Party; he was defeated in a bloody Battel, together with *Aſdrubal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, and had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of *Lelius* the Wiſe, as *Cicero* calls that Officer, who was the intimate Friend, and one of the Lieutenants of SCIPIO. *Year of* Rome, 551. Cic. Offic. 2. in Orat. pro Arch. & pro Murenâ.

I ſhall not dwell upon the Courſe of this War. SCIPIO, after having gained a Second Victory over the *Carthaginians*, gave them in their turn, Apprehenſions of ſeeing him before their Walls. HANNIBAL was recalled to the Aſſiſtance of his Country, and returned to *Africa* the Sixteenth Year of this War. At firſt there was ſome talk of Peace; nay, there was an Interview between SCIPIO and HANNIBAL; but not coming to an Agreement, it plainly appeared that the Sword alone muſt decide the Pretenſions of the two Republicks. Hannibal *re-call'd.*

The Armies ſoon meet; the Battle was fought near *Zama*. The Diſpute was for Empire and Liberty; both Generals upon this Occaſion employed their utmoſt Capacity in taking Advantage of the Diſpoſition of the Ground, and ordering their Troops for Battel. The Soldiers, on their Parts, fought like Men that were animated with the Spirit and Courage of thoſe two great Leaders. The Succeſs was long doubtful; at length the Victory remained with SCIPIO. The *Carthaginians* loſt twenty Thouſand Men, ſlain upon the Spot, and as many were made Priſoners of War. Scipio *beats* Hannibal.

Peace

Second Peace granted to Carthage. *Year of* Rome, 552.

Peace was the Fruit of this Victory. The *Carthaginians* having quite ſpent their Strength, ſued for it with the Conſent even of HANNIBAL himſelf. The *Romans* did not grant it without ſuch Conditions which might be looked upon as a Second Victory. They ſtripped the *Carthaginians* of their Fleets, and their Elephants: They were forced to reſtore the Priſoners of War, and to deliver up the Deſerters. Immenſe Sums were alſo exacted from them. And, which they thought ſtill more rigorous, they were forbid to ſend Ambaſſadors, to make any Alliance, or the leaſt Armament, without the Knowledge, and expreſs Permiſſion of the Senate.

Polyb. L. 15. App. Alex. Zonaras.

So ſtrict and mortifying a Dependence did not yet ſatisfy the Ambition of the *Romans*. *Carthage*, yet in Being, daily recalled the Memory of the Battels of *Traſumenus* and *Cannæ*. *Rome* reſolved to deſtroy an Object that gave them ſuch diſagreeable Reflections. This was the Cauſe of the third Punic War. The young *Scipio*, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, and who was adopted by *Scipio*, the Son of *Africanus*, entirely ruined that ſtately City, which had preſumed to diſpute the Empire of the World with *Rome*. The Inhabitants were diſperſed into ſeveral Parts, and *Carthage* was nothing now but a vain Name.

Third Punic *War.* Carthage *deſtroy'd. Year of* Rome, 607.

Ap. Alex. in Lyb. Strabo. L. ultim.

This City ſubdued, and then ruined, lifted up the Hearts of the *Romans*. Thoſe who a few Years before had fought for the Defence of *Rome*, now aſpired to the Conqueſt of the whole World. They carried their Arms into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*. *Antiochus* the Great, who reigned over the better Part of *Aſia*, was defeated, and conſtrained to retire to the other Side of Mount *Taurus*. The *Inſubrians* and the *Ligurians* were conquered: *Macedon*, after various Wars, which it is not my Buſineſs to treat of here, was reduced into a Province as well as *Illyrium*. And the *Greeks* endeavouring to with-

Conqueſts of the Romans in the Eaſt *and* Weſt.

draw

draw themſelves from the Dependence of the *Achæans*, fell under the Dominion of the *Romans*, who in leſs than one Century, extended their Conqueſts over the three Parts of our Continent. All *Italy*, all *Spain*, *Illyrium*, quite to the *Danube*, *Africa*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, all the Kingdoms of *Aſia Minor*, were Members of this vaſt Empire; and the *Romans* ſtruck the Terror of their Arms, and the Reſpect of their Power into the moſt barbarous Nations.

Effects of the Roman Conqueſts.

The Luxury of the *Eaſt* came to *Rome* with the Spoils of thoſe great Provinces. To maintain it, they began to make Intereſt for the Offices of the Republick, the Profit of which increaſed with the Empire. The Manners of the *Romans* received a Change with their Fortune, and one wou'd think it was another Nation that is now going to appear upon the Stage. We ſhall indeed find among them more Skill in the Art of War, Generals of more Capacity, and Armies almoſt invincible; all theſe managed by a Policy ſteady, provident, and always conſiſtent with it ſelf: But then we ſhall find leſs Equity in their Counſels. The Pleaſure of Conqueſt and Dominion ſoon corrupted that exact Probity, formerly ſo eſteemed in the *Romans* by their very Enemies. Ambition took the Place of Juſtice in their Undertakings; a ſordid Avarice, and private Regards ſucceeded the Care of the Publick Good: Love of their Country was turned into an Adherence to Leaders of Factions. In a word, Victory, Peace, and Plenty, deſtroyed that Concord between the Great and the People, which the Employment given them by the Punic Wars had before maintained. And the two *Gracchi*, by renewing Propoſals, juſt in all Appearance, but not at all convenient in the preſent State of the Republick, kindled the firſt Sparks of the Civil Wars we are now going to ſpeak of.

TIBE-

Seditions of the Gracchi.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, and CAIUS GRACCHUS, were Sons of TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a Conſular Perſon, a great Captain, and who had been honoured with two Triumphs; but one that was yet more illuſtrious for the Excellency of his Manners, and his perfect Diſintereſtedneſs: Virtues which now began to be remarkable, as being leſs common than formerly among the *Romans*. The *Sempronian* Family, though *Plebeian*, was one of the greateſt Diſtinction in the Commonwealth, ſince the People had been admitted indifferently with the Nobles into the firſt Dignities of the State.

The Mother of the *Gracchi*, named *Cornelia*, was Daughter of the great SCIPIO. TIBERIUS, her Eldeſt Son, was married to the Daughter of *Appius Claudius*, the Prince of the Senate; CAIUS to that of *Publius Craſſus*; and their Siſter, named *Sempronia*, was married to the young SCIPIO, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*. So that theſe two Brothers, by ſeveral Alliances, were related to the chief Families in the Republick.

Portrait of Tib. Gracchus. Vel. Paterc. L. 3.

Theſe Advantages in TIBERIUS, were ſupported by a noble Air, an engaging Countenance, and all thoſe winning Graces of Nature, which ſerve as a Recommendation to Merit. At the ſame time, ſays an ancient Hiſtorian, he had acquired all the Virtues that can be expected from an excellent Education, abundance of Wiſdom, Moderation, Frugality, and Publick Spirit. His Mind was beſides adorned with the fineſt Parts of Learning; and at thirty Years Old, he was accounted the beſt Orator of his Age. His Style was pure, his Terms choice, his Expreſſion ſimple, but always noble, and ſo moving, that he ſtole away the Aſſent of all that heard him.

His Enemies gave out, that beneath Manners ſo inſinuating, he concealed an inordinate Ambition, an implacable Hatred againſt the Senate, and an extravagant Zeal for the Intereſt of the People, which

which he made the Motive or Pretence of all his Undertakings.

It was this Adherence to the Intereſt of the People, and perhaps an Inclination to diſtinguiſh himſelf, that made him take up the Deſign of the Partition of the Lands; an old Pretenſion, which the Great Men of *Rome* thought quite extinguiſhed by Oblivion and Preſcription, but which he undertook to revive; though he well foreſaw the ſtrong Reſiſtance he ſhould meet with on the Part of the Senate; nay, and from the richer Sort among the People. It is ſaid, that he was inſpir'd with this Deſign by his Mother *Cornelia*, a Woman fond of Glory; and who, to ſtir up her Son's Ambition, had given him a kind of Reproach, becauſe ſhe was called in *Rome*, only the Mother-in-Law of *Scipio*, and not the Mother of the *Gracchi*. She was continually giving him to underſtand, that it was Time he ſhould make himſelf known by his own Actions; that indeed, his Brother-in-Law *Scipio* ſtood in the firſt Rank among the Captains and Generals of the Republick; but that he in another Courſe, and by Laws uſeful to the People, had ſtill room to make himſelf a great Name; that this was the only Way he had left to raiſe himſelf to ſome Degree of Equality with the Conqueror of *Carthage*; and that by calling the People to a Share in the publick Lands, he would render himſelf no leſs famous than his Brother-in-Law had done by his Conqueſts. *Reaſon of his Behaviour.* *Year of Rome* 620.

But C. GRACCHUS wrote in a Hiſtory quoted by *Plutarch*, that his Brother formed this Project of himſelf; and that a Journey which he made through part of *Italy*, before his Tribuneſhip, had put it into his Thoughts. That Hiſtorian relates, that TIBERIUS obſerved with Surprize, that the Country which formerly was filled with rich Inhabitants, and afforded the Republick a ſerviceable Militia, was now peopled with none but Slaves,

Slaves, whoſe Condition exempted them from going to the Wars: That a Change ſo prejudicial to the Commonwealth had made him reſolve to reſtore the *Lex Licinia* to its ancient Force, and to bring the poorer Sort of the People into a Share of thoſe Lands, in order to relieve their Want, and enable them to raiſe up Children, that might come to fill the Legions. Which ever of theſe ſecret Motives be true, whether private Ambition, or Zeal for the publick Good; TIBERIUS was no ſooner come to the Tribuneſhip, but he declared his Intention of reviving the *Lex Licinia*. However, he propoſed it with all the Mitigations that he thought would pacify the Uſurpers of the Publick Lands.

Oppoſitions he met with.

We have heard before, that this Law forbid any *Roman* Citizen to poſſeſs above five Hundred Acres of thoſe Lands, upon pain of ten Thouſand *Aſſes* Fine. Nay, in the rigor of the Law, thoſe who had infringed it, might be forced to repay into the Publick Treaſury, the Produce of ſuch Lands as exceeded the Quantity allowed by the Law. TIBERIUS, who thought he ſhould obtain enough, if he could only bring it again into Force, propoſed a general Amneſty of all that was paſſed.

But the Grandees of *Rome*, and the richeſt Citizens, who thought themſelves above the Laws, rejected with Contempt this Qualification of one which they pretended was out of Date. Moſt of them in a full Aſſembly, called the Tribune a Promoter of Sedition, and a Diſturber of the Publick Peace. TIBERIUS, without forgetting his Character, aſked them with the greateſt Moderation, Whether the Condition of the Inhabitants of the Country, who had neither Lands of their own, nor even of other Mens to cultivate, did not fill them with Compaſſion? Whether they were not yet more moved at the Miſery of their Fellow Citizens,

Citizens, who of all the Conqueſts which the Republick had made, had nothing left but the Scars of the Wounds which they had received in the Wars? What they themſelves meant to do with that Multitude of Slaves, with which they had filled *Italy*: thoſe Slaves, no leſs uſeleſs in War, than they were dangerous by their Numbers in Peace? Then addreſſing himſelf to the meaner Sort of People, he repreſented to them their own Wretchedneſs in a tender Manner, and ſo as to ſtir up their Indignation. "The wild Beaſts, ſaid he, "have Dens and Caverns to retire into; while the "Citizens of *Rome* have not ſo much as a Roof "or a Cottage to ſhelter them from the Incle-"mency of the Weather, but without any fix'd "Abode are forced to wander about like miſera-"ble Exiles in the Heart of their own Country. "They call you, added he, the Lords and Ma-"ſters of the Univerſe. What Lords! What Ma-"ſters! You, whom they have not left ſo much as "an Inch of Ground to ſerve you even for a Grave!

Though TIBERIUS's Deſign was not ſo much to relieve the Poverty of private Perſons, as to repeople the Country, upon which he thought the Fortune of the Republick depended, yet theſe Diſcourſes, which he often repeated, got him the Praiſes and the Affection of the Multitude. They were overjoyed at having a Tribune of ſo much Wiſdom, and ſo full of Zeal for the Intereſts of the People. TIBERIUS having eſtabliſhed his Credit, and finding the Minds of the Citizens in that Warmth and Emotion which was ſo neceſſary to the Succeſs of his Deſigns, convened the Aſſembly, which was to proceed to the Publication, or to ſpeak more properly, to the Revival of the *Lex Licinia*.

TIBERIUS ſhowed the Juſtice of this Law with ſo much Eloquence; he made ſo frightful a Deſcription of the Miſery and Wretchedneſs of the

meaner Sort of People, and of the Inhabitants of the Country; and at the ſame time ſet forth in ſuch odious Colours, the Uſurpation of the Publick Lands, and the immenſe Riches which the Avarice and Rapaciouſneſs of the Great had raked together, that all the People, as it were tranſported with Fury, with loud Cries, demanded the Billets that they might give their Suffrages.

The Rich, to keep off the Publication of the Law, privately conveyed away the Urns in which thoſe Billets were preſerved. This Fraud provoked the Tribune's Indignation, and the Rage of the People: A Thouſand confuſed Noiſes aroſe in the Aſſembly. The Rich, who wanted nothing but to gain Time, ſent two Conſular Perſons to TIBERIUS, to beg him to appeaſe the People, and to reſtore Quiet to the City.

Manlius *and* Fulvius.

The Tribune aſked them what he could do, without being wanting to his Duty and his Honour? "Suſpend for this one Day, anſwered the two "Conſulars, the Propoſal of the Law; give Time "to Men, who are now too much blinded by their "Paſſion, to become leſs averſe to Equity and "Reaſon; and in the mean while, the Senate will "find Ways to bring the different Parties to a "Reconciliation. TIBERIUS conſented to their Requeſt and diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. The Senate was convened the next Day. TIBERIUS relied upon the uſual Condeſcenſion of that Body, and flattered himſelf, that the fear of a Sedition would oblige the Senators to yield up at length a part of the diſputed Lands: And indeed there were ſeveral among them, that through a Principle of Equity, were for paying ſome Regard to the Complaints of the Tribune, and the Miſery of the People. But the Parties concerned, who happened to be the greater Number, would not hear of any Compoſition whatſoever. The Rich, who feared they ſhould be ſtripped of Lands on which they had

had built magnificent Edifices, ſhook with Anger and Indignation at the mere Name of TIBERIUS. Some ſaid, that they had received theſe Lands from their Anceſtors; that their Fathers were buried in them, and that they would defend their Tombs to the laſt Drop of their Blood. Others demanded to be repay'd the Portion of their Wives, which they had laid out in Purchaſes of that Nature; and there were ſome that produced Contracts, either real or forged, for Money which they had borrowed at great Intereſt, to buy the Lands which were now to be taken from them. Various Schemes were laid to hinder the Publication of the Law. Some were for privately ridding themſelves of the Tribune, whom they called a Tyrant. Others, more moderate, propoſed ſeveral Ways to prevent the Aſſembly of the People. But at length they had Recourſe to the Expedient of Oppoſition, which the Senate had often before made uſe of with great Succeſs. All they had to do for this Purpoſe, was to gain over only one of the Tribunes of the People, who by the Privilege of his Office had a Right, as we have ſaid before, to oppoſe any Motion of his Colleagues. The Party of the Rich addreſſed themſelves to *M. Octavius:* Though he was a Friend to TIBERIUS, there needed neither Prayers nor Promiſes to win him. His own Intereſt was ſufficient to win him into the Cabal, and he with the more Readineſs undertook to withſtand TIBERIUS, as he actually poſſeſſed a greater Quantity of conquered Lands than the Law allowed. Thus they were ſecure of his Oppoſition.

Octavius gain'd over by the Senate.

This underhand Negotiation was not managed with ſo much Privacy, but that TIBERIUS got ſome Knowledge of it: And he was alſo informed, that the oppoſite Party intended to create ſeveral Obſtacles to the aſſembling of the People, or at leaſt to their coming to any final Reſolution; which

was no hard Matter, in a City where Superſtition reigned ſo deſpotically, and where no Laws could be confirm'd without taking the Auſpices, and conſulting the Prieſts and Augurs, who never fail'd to return Anſwers conformable to the Intereſts of the ruling Party.

Tiberius endeavours to regain Octavius.

TIBERIUS heard, not without Indignation, of the Impediments which were to be laid in his Way, to hinder the Execution of his Deſigns. But as he was one, who under the moſt g[illegible] and inſinuating Manners, preſerv'd an invincible Courage, and unſhaken Conſtancy, nothing was able to deter him. He firſt applied to his Colleague: He conjured him by the mutual Duties of their Function, and by the Bonds of an ancient Friendſhip, not to oppoſe the Good of the People, whoſe Magiſtrates and Patrons they were obliged to be; and to bring him over, he offer'd at his own Expence to make him amends for the full Value of the Lands which he would be oblig'd to reſtore. *Octavius* did not deny, that he was reſolved to oppoſe the Publication of a Law, which muſt inevitably fill all the Families of *Rome* with Trouble and Confuſion. He added, that he himſelf would meet with greater Obſtacles than he imagin'd. And to ſhew himſelf no leſs generous than his Colleague, he rejected his Offers, and ſeemed immoveable in the Party he had embraced.

Tiberius ſuſpends all the Magiſtrates from their Functions.

TIBERIUS having reflected upon what his Colleague had ſaid to him, thought at laſt he had hit upon a way to elude his Oppoſition. Being at the ſame Time reſolv'd to avoid the artful Methods, that had ſo often been practiſed, to put off the Aſſemblies of the People, or to hinder them from agreeing upon any Decree, he by a new Edict ſuſpended all the Magiſtrates from their Functions, till the Law was either approved or rejected by the Voices of the People. He put his own Seal upon the Gates of the Temple of *Saturn*,

Saturn, where the Coffers of the Treaſury were kept, to the Intent that neither the Quæſtors nor Treaſurers might have any Acceſs to them; and ſubjected to great Fines all ſuch Magiſtrates as ſhould not pay Obedience to his Order.

After having taken theſe Precautions he called a new Aſſembly of the People. The Day being come, he commanded an Officer to read aloud the Law which he offer'd for their Acceptance. *Octavius* did not fail to oppoſe it, and to forbid the reading of it. This bred ſharp Diſputes between the two Tribunes. But it was obſerv'd, that notwithſtanding the Heat with which both maintained their Opinion, not a Word eſcap'd from either, that could give the other Offence. TIBERIUS, on the contrary, addreſſing himſelf to his Colleague in that winning Manner, which gained him all Mens Hearts, conjured him by their ancient Friendſhip to oppoſe the Intereſts of the People no longer, but generouſly to ſacrifice his private Ties to the Good of ſo many poor Families, whoſe Relief he deferr'd. *Octavius* reply'd, that he did not think the Law he propoſed could be executed, without ruining the greateſt Families, which were the ſtrongeſt Support to the Commonwealth, and occaſioning in the City a vaſt Number of intricate Law-Suits upon account of Truſts. He added, That even tho' it were poſſible, without any Inconvenience, to recover out of the Hands of the Proprietors what Lands exceeded the Quantity of five Hundred Acres; this Overplus, when divided among the infinite Numbers of poor Citizens that were then in *Rome*, would do them very little Service; that therefore he would never conſent to the Publication of a Law, that would ruin the Rich, without enriching the Poor.

Octavius oppoſes the Law.

The great Men of *Rome* triumph'd upon this Oppoſition; but TIBERIUS, who had a greater Capacity, or more Boldneſs than any that ever preceded

Tib. Gracchus *depoſes his Colleague* Octavius.

ceded him in the Tribuneſhip, defeated their Joy by a new and very extraordinary Expedient. "Since Cuſtom, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to "the Aſſembly, will not allow a Tribune to propoſe any new Law, if but one of his Colleagues "forbids it, it is but Juſtice that I ſhould ſubmit "to the Oppoſition of *Octavius*. But then as the "Tribuneſhip was created only with a View to "the redreſſing of the Peoples Grievances, and as "that Tribune, who forſakes this View, deſtroys "the very Foundation of his Inſtitution, I demand, that the People, by Plurality of Voices, "decide which of the Two, *Octavius* or I, acts "moſt contrary to their Intereſts; and that he who "is judged to have failed in his Duty, and to "have abuſed his Privilege of Oppoſition, be immediately depoſed. For, added TIBERIUS, if the "*Roman* People, to puniſh the Luſt and Violence "of a ſingle Man, had Power to deprive a King "of his Crown, and to ſuppreſs the Royal Dignity it ſelf, in which the Authority of all other "Magiſtrates is comprehended; who can doubt, "but that the ſame People has Power to aboliſh "the Tribuneſhip, if it grows incompatible with "their Liberty, and much more to depoſe a Tribune, if he abuſes the Privileges of his Office, "and turns againſt the People themſelves, a Power "with which he was intruſted only to procure "their Advantage?" The People, who always find Juſtice in whatever makes for them, gave great Praiſes to an Argument more ſubtile than ſolid. The Expedient propoſed by TIBERIUS was unanimouſly approved, and they reſolved to decide the very next Day, which of the two Tribunes ſhould be excluded from the Tribuneſhip. TIBERIUS, who had found a Way to make his own Intereſt that of the People, was in no pain for himſelf; but as he was apprehenſive, that *Octavius* would refuſe to expoſe his Dignity to ſuch a Trial, he offered, in hope

hopes to induce him to ſubmit to the Judgment of the People, that he himſelf ſhould convene the Aſſembly, and preſide in it. And the more to draw him into it, he added, with a ſeeming Indifference, that for his Part, he ſhould lay down the Tribuneſhip with more Pleaſure than he took it up.

Octavius did not give into this Snare; he too well knew to what a Degree TIBERIUS, who was the Idol of the People, was Maſter of their Voices; and beſides, he was very cautious how he either convened the Aſſembly, or preſided in it, for fear he ſhould by ſuch a Step give Authority to a Decree to which he was ſure of falling a Victim. TIBERIUS, upon his Refuſal, called the Aſſembly himſelf for the next Day. Never was there ſeen at *Rome* ſo numerous an Appearance of her Citizens; Rich and Poor, the Senate, the Grandees, and the principal Men of the City, all flock'd to it with equal Expectation. It was a very extraordinary Spectacle to ſee two Tribunes ſo hotly engaged againſt each other; and it had been no diſagreeable Entertainment to the Senators, if in this famous Contention, the Loſs of the publick Lands had not been inſeparable from *Octavius*'s Depoſal. TIBERIUS having aſcended the *Roſtrum*, once more exhorted his Colleague to withdraw his Oppoſition; but finding that he reſolutely perſiſted in it, he propoſed the Queſtion to the Aſſembly, Which of them Two the *Roman* People would remove? The Billets were immediately given out; of five and thirty Tribes into which they were then divided, ſeventeen had already given their Voices againſt *Octavius*; and there now wanted the Suffrages of but one Tribe to compleat his Sentence; when TIBERIUS being willing to make one more Trial, whether it was not poſſible to prevail upon him, ſuſpended the Deliberation, and addreſſing himſelf to *Octavius*, conjured him in the moſt preſſing

Terms, not to expoſe himſelf by his Obſtinacy to ſo great a Diſgrace, nor to give him the Grief of having been forced to diſhonour his Colleague and his Friend.

It was obſerv'd, that *Octavius* could not hear theſe Words without Concern, inſomuch that the Tears came into his Eyes; but caſting his Look towards the Senate, he was aſham'd to break his Word with them, and at length boldly anſwer'd TIBERIUS, that he might finiſh his Work. That Tribune, full of Indignation at his Adherence to the Faction of the Rich, continued to gather the Votes: *Octavius* was depoſed; the People tore him from his Tribunal, and in their Fury would have inſulted him farther, had not the Grandees, whoſe Victim he had made himſelf, facilitated his Retreat.

The Lex Licinia *reſtored.*

This Obſtacle being thus got over, by the Removal of that very Magiſtrate who had occaſioned it, the *Lex* LICINIA was revived with one Conſent. Three Commiſſioners, or Triumvirs, were afterwards choſen to haſten its Execution. The People gave TIBERIUS the firſt Place in this Commiſſion; and he had Intereſt enough beſides to get for his Colleagues his Father in-Law *Appius Claudius*, and his Brother C. GRACCHUS, tho' this young *Roman* was not above twenty Years old, and was then actually performing his firſt Exerciſes in War, at the Siege of *Numantia*, under *Scipio*, who was his Brother-in-Law. The People, as another Mark of their Favour, gave *Octavius*'s Place to *Mutius*, an obſcure Man, and one that had no Merit but the Recommendation of TIBERIUS; ſo that this *Plebeian* Magiſtrate, now grown abſolute Maſter of the Tribuneſhip, and ſuperior to the whole Senate, by means of his Power over the Minds of the People, was, as it were, the ſole Governor of the Republick; at leaſt the other Magiſtrates could do nothing if he were againſt them, while he [illegible] pendently

pendently of all the reſt, was ſure of Succeſs in every Thing he undertook.

This abſolute Empire in a Republick, was odious to the Senate, and even to the *Plebeians* themſelves. His Enemies took hold of this Advantage; they inſinuated that their Liberty was in the greateſt Danger; and many openly averred, that *Caſſius* and *Melius*, who were put to Death, had never made themſelves ſo ſuſpicious: "Is it not "certain, added they, that when the Safety of "the State is concerned, the bare Probability of "a Crime ought to be puniſhed? Shall we delay "to ſtand up againſt TIBERIUS, till his Accom-"plices have ſet the Crown upon his Head?" Theſe malicious Diſcourſes leſſened his Credit; and juſt about the ſame Time he loſt one of his moſt zealous Adherents. The unexpected Death of that Friend, the Cauſe of which was unknown, gave a Suſpicion that it was not natural. *Murmurings againſt* Tib. Gracchus.

The Rich and the Poor then formed two Parties, very much embittered againſt each other, and that ſought nothing but one another's Deſtruction. TIBERIUS, with Deſign to increaſe the Animoſity of the People, and to ſhow that he was apprehenſive of an Aſſaſſination, ſuffered it to appear that he was armed under his Robe. He put on Habits of Mourning, as was the Cuſtom in the greateſt Calamities, and bringing his Children yet young into the *Forum*, and into the middle of the Aſſembly, he recommended them to the People, in Terms which gave to underſtand, that he deſpaired of his own Preſervation. The People at this Sight returned no anſwer, but by Outcries and Menaces againſt the Rich. Never did ſo much Hatred againſt the Senate appear before. TIBERIUS kept up this Averſion in the People, ſometimes by working upon their Pity, and ſometimes by Motives of Revenge, or by new Proſpects of Advantage. This artful Tribune raiſed theſe various Sen- Tiberius *irritates the People.*

timents by turns, according to the Diſpoſition of People's Minds, and the Poſture of Affairs.

Attalus, King of Pergamus, *makes the* Roman *People his Heirs.*

The Death of *Attalus Philopator*, King of *Pergamus*, gave him a new Opportunity to bind the Multitude yet more firmly to himſelf. That Prince, by his Will, had named the *Roman* People to be his Heir. TIBERIUS, who always acted by the ſame Spirit, propoſed a new Edict, which ſhou'd decree that all the King of *Pergamus*'s Treaſure ſhould be divided among the pooreſt of thoſe Citizens, who were to have a Share in the Diſtribution of the publick Lands, in order to buy them Cattle, and the Utenſils neceſſary for cultivating their little Inheritances. "As to the Cities, and "their Territories, added TIBERIUS, I will make "my Report of them to the People, when I am "better informed in that Matter; and they ſhall "diſpoſe of them in their Aſſemblies, as a Legacy "which belongs to them.

Murmurings of the Senate againſt Tib. Gracchus.

Plutarch writes, that of all TIBERIUS's Undertakings, none offended the whole Body of the Senate ſo much as this Deſign; which by referring to the People the Cognizance of ſo great an Affair, conveyed to them the whole Authority of the Government, and deprived the Senators of the immenſe Profit which they thought to have made by diſpoſing of that Prince's Dominions. Ambition and Intereſt ſtirred up the higheſt Reſentment in the chief Men of *Rome*. They publickly reproached TIBERIUS, that his Intent in giving the Diſpoſal of *Attalus*'s Kingdom to the People, was to have the Crown placed upon his own Head. He was even accuſed of endeavouring to make himſelf the Tyrant of his own Country; nay, there were ſome who reported that he had beforehand got Poſſeſſion of *Attalus*'s Royal Diadem and Purple Robe. But theſe injurious Calumnies, which proceeded from nothing but the Averſion of the Great, did not at all agree with the Character

racter of TIBERIUS. Never Man was more a Republican than that Tribune. All that he had done in the Buſineſs of the Partition of the Lands, had no other End but to bring the Condition of the poor Citizens nearer to that of the Rich, and to eſtabliſh a kind of Equality among them all.

It is true, he afterwards carried this Principle too far, and perceiving that his Laws had provoked an implacable Hatred againſt him in the Great, and that his Death was reſolved upon, he kept no farther Meaſures. He applied himſelf wholly to undermine the Authority of the Senate, and to ſecure himſelf an Aſylum in the Power of the People. It was with this View that he was daily propoſing new Laws. At one time he was for diminiſhing the Number of Years which the Soldiers were obliged to ſerve; at another he demanded that it might be lawful to appeal to the Aſſembly of the People, from the Judgments of all other Magiſtrates. But of all the Blows which he gave to the Authority of the Senate, there was none that ſtruck ſo deep, as the new Propoſal he made to put as many Knights as Senators into the ſeveral Tribunals of *Rome*.

Divers Laws of Tib. Gracchus.

TIBERIUS gave the People a Proſpect of Laws ſo much to their Advantage, only that they might continue him in the Tribuneſhip, to proſecute the paſſing of them. The Senate, enraged at theſe new Enterprizes, formed a ſtrong Cabal to keep him out of it. The Magiſtrates, the Grandees, the Richeſt of *Rome*, and even ſome Tribunes of the People who were jealous of his great Credit, liſted themſelves in this Party. And the Day of Election being come, as the Tribune, who preſided in the Aſſembly, had a great Influence over the Votes, they diſputed that Right with *Mutius*, a Creature of TIBERIUS, though it was devolved to him by the Depoſal of *Octavius*, whom he repreſented.

This

This Oppoſition of the *Tribunes* ſeemed to TIBERIUS an ill Omen: He plainly found there was a ſtrong Party formed againſt him. In order to come to a Knowledge of its Power and Deſigns, he contrived to ſpend the whole Time of the Aſſembly in Diſputes with his Colleagues about the Preſidence; and Night coming on, the Election was forced to be put off till the next Day.

He employed that whole Night in ſecuring the Heads of the People. His Adherents diſperſing themſelves into different Parts of the City, exhorted the *Plebeians* to repair betimes to the *Forum*. Moſt of them, to ſhow their Zeal, came before break of Day. The Great and Rich being informed that the People had got Poſſeſſion of the *Forum*, reſolved to drive them out by open Force, rather than ſuffer TIBERIUS to be continued in the Tribuneſhip. They got together for their Guard their Clients, their Domeſticks, and their Slaves, who were privately armed with Sticks, and expected them at the Door of the Senate.

TIBERIUS, who knew nothing of their Deſigns, prepared to go to the *Forum*. But he had unlucky Preſages which kept him back, and which Superſtition and Prejudice then regarded as the ſureſt Interpreters of the Will of the Deity.

Preſages. Word was brought him that the Sacred Fowls had that Morning refuſed to eat. As he went out of his Houſe, he hurt his Foot againſt the Threſhold of his Door; and he had not got far, when ſome Ravens that were fighting threw a Tile down at his Feet. This, in thoſe Days, was enough to with-hold the moſt daring. The Tribune, affrighted at theſe Omens, was going to return Home; *Bloſſius.* but a certain *Greek* Philoſopher, an intimate Friend of TIBERIUS, laughing at theſe vulgar Prejudices, put him in Mind what a Shame it wou'd be to TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, Tribune of the *Roman* People, Son of a Conſular, and Grandſon of the great

Scipio,

Scipio, if it were ſaid, that though he was at the Head of a powerful Party, the croaking of two Crows put him off from the Execution of his Deſigns.

This Reproach made the Tribune aſhamed of his Weakneſs; and ſeveral of his Adherents running from the Aſſembly to haſten his coming, told him he would find the greateſt Number of Votes united in his Favour. TIBERIUS followed them, and accompanied by his particular Friends, aſcended the Capitol. The People, the Moment they perceived him, broke out into Shouts of Joy and Applauſe. But ſcarce was he placed in his Tribunal, when a Senator that was his Friend, breaking through the Crowd, and coming up to him, gave him Notice that there was a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and that the Grandees of *Rome*, eſpecially thoſe that were perſonally concerned in the Affair of the Lands, were reſolved to attack him openly in his very Tribunal.

The Friends of the Tribune moved at the Danger to which he was expoſed, got together about him, tuck'd up their Gowns, and laying hold of the Arms of the Lictors, prepared to defend him, and to repel Force by Force. TIBERIUS endeavoured to make the People acquainted with the Information he had received; but the Tumult, the Noiſe, and the Clamours of the different Parties, hindering him from being heard, he touched his Head with his two Hands, in order to make the People conceive that his Life was in Danger. His Enemies hence took occaſion to cry out, that he aſked a Crown, and ſome of the hotteſt ran to tell the Senate, that the People were juſt going to crown TIBERIUS, if they did not ſpeedily oppoſe it. *Tumult.*

This was an Artifice to make the Senate overlook all Forms, and proſcribe him immediately. Moſt of the Senators, whom the Execution of the *Lex Licinia* wou'd have ſtripped of part of their Lands,

Lands, run into the moſt bitter Speeches againſt TIBERIUS. But no body was more inveterate than his own Kinſman *Scipio Naſica.* That Senator addreſſing himſelf to the firſt Conſul, repreſented to him, that all the Novelties which the Tribune had introduced into the Government, were but ſo many Steps to raiſe himſelf to the Throne; that there was not a Moment's Time to be loſt, and that they muſt deſtroy the Tyrant, if they would preſerve their Liberty. But that wiſe Magiſtrate, who wou'd not make himſelf the Minister of the Revenge of particular Perſons, replied, That he was equally incapable of approving the new Laws, and of putting the Author to Death, contrary to the uſual Forms of Juſtice.

Scipio Naſica *oppoſes* Gracchus.

An Anſwer ſo full of Moderation only enraged thoſe exaſperated Spirits the more. *Scipio* aroſe abruptly from his Place; and turning towards thoſe Senators that were concerned like himſelf in the loſs of the Lands, "Since the chief Magi-"ſtrate, ſays he, out of ſo ſcrupulous a Subjecti-"on to the uſual Forms of Juſtice, refuſes to ſuc-"cour the Republick, let thoſe who value Li-"berty above Life, follow me. At the ſame time he gathers up his Robe, and puts himſelf at the Head of the Senators of his Party, who run hot with Fury to the Capitol, with that Multitude of Clients, Servants and Slaves, that waited to attend them at the Door of the Senate. Thoſe People, armed only with Clubs and Levers, went before the Senators, and fall indifferently upon all that ſtand in their Way.

Naſica's *Rage.*

The People terrified, take to Flight. In this Tumult every Man diſperſes different Ways. TIBERIUS's Friends abandon him. He is at length obliged to provide for his own Safety, as well as the reſt; he flings off his Robe, that he may run with the more Freedom; but in that Hurry of Spirits, which is inſeparable from Fear, he stum-

Death of Gracchus.

bles

ble down in his Flight; and as he got up again, *Publius Satureius*, one of his Colleagues, ſecretly jealous of his Glory, gave him a Blow on the Head with the Foot of a Chair. He falls again with this Blow, and a Crowd of his Enemies ruſhing forward upon him, finiſhed the Work. His Death did not put an end to the Diſorder: The Fury was equal in all Parts of the City, and above three Hundred of TIBERIUS's Friends and Adherents loſt their Lives in this Tumult. It is obſervable, that not one was killed by the Sword, but all were bruiſed to Death with Stones or Clubs. Their Bodies were afterwards flung into the *Tyber* with that of TIBERIUS.

The Faction of the Great extended their Reſentment to all that had been known to favour his Sentiments. Several of them were put to Death. *Popilius*, then Prætor, baniſhed great Numbers. And no Methods were forgot, to ſtrike a Terror into thoſe, that ſhou'd ever have any Thoughts of attempting the like Regulation for the future.

The End of the Eighth Book.

BOOK

Book IX.

C. Gracchus, *the Brother of* Tiberius, *obtains of the People the Office of Tribune, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Great. He propoſes ſeveral Laws, and makes various Alterations in the Government, which render him almoſt abſolute in* Rome, *and all over* Italy. *The Year of his Tribuneſhip being expired, he is continued in the ſame Poſt, without making the leaſt Intereſt for it. In what manner the Senators contrived to diminiſh his Credit.* Scipio Æmilianus, *the Deſtroyer of* Carthage *and* Numantia, *is the moſt open Oppoſer of the* Agrarian *Law. He is found dead in his Bed.* Caius *is ſuſpected of having a Hand in his Aſſaſſination. His Colleagues, jealous of his Authority, find Means to exclude him from a Third Tribunate. The Senators, when they find* Caius *returned to a private Condition, give the Conſul* Opimius *a Charge to annul all his Laws, and eſpecially that relating to the Partition of the Lands.* Opimius *convenes a general Aſſembly to determine this great Affair. One of the Conſul's Lictors being ſlain by the* Plebeians, *without the Conſent of* Caius, *the Senate impowers* Opimius *to put his Adherents into Arms.* Caius *is killed, and his Head brought to the Conſul, who pays down Seventeen Pound and a half of Gold for it. The Grandees at length obtain an Acknowledgment, that they are the lawful Poſſeſſors of the conquered Lands, by engaging themſelves to pay a certain Rent, which they continue not long to do.* Jugurtha, *who he was. His firſt Campaigns. His Money for ſome Time*

Time ſerves him inſtead of Juſtice at Rome : *But at length his Cruelty obliges the* Romans *to ſend Troops into* Numidia. *After having ſucceſsfully employed againſt theſe formidable Enemies, Bribery, Stratagem, and Force, he is delivered up by* Bocchus *to his Enemies, carried to* Rome, *dragged like a Slave at the Wheels of a Triumphal Chariot, and at laſt thrown by an Executioner into a deep Dungeon, where he is ſtarved to Death.* Marius. Sylla.

ROME now firſt knew what it was to have a Civil War raging within the very Circumference of her Walls. All the Seditions, which till now had riſen, about the Retreat to the *Mons Sacer*, the Abrogation of the Debts, the Eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip, and the Promulgation of various Laws, all theſe Diſſentions conſtantly terminated by way of Accommodation, and without the Effuſion of Human Blood, ſometimes by the People's Reſpect for the Senate, and oftner yet by the Senate's Condeſcenſion to the People. But upon this laſt Occaſion, the Quarrel was decided by Violence, and it was a Tribune of the People himſelf, that without reſpect to his own Dignity, though reputed Sacred, gave the firſt Blow to his Colleague. Plut. in Gracchis. App. Alex. Civ. L. 1. Vel. Paterc. Oroſ. L. Florus.

In the mean time, the People being recovered from their Fear, reproached themſelves with his Death, as much as if they had with their own Hands aſſaſſinated the Man whom they did not defend with ſufficient Courage. Their Indignation then fell upon *Scipio Naſica*, the Beginner of the Tumult. The *Plebeians* never met him in the Streets, but they publickly upbraided him with Murder and Sacrilege. Some boiling with Rage threatned to kill him ; others propoſed to ſummon him before the Aſſembly of the People. The Senate fearing leſt his Preſence might raiſe a new Sedition, thought proper to remove him, and Tiberius *regretted.*

therefore ſent him into *Aſia*, with a ſeeming Commiſſion to diſguiſe a real Baniſhment. The Senate, to appeaſe the People effectually, conſented alſo to the Execution of the Law; they ſuffer'd another Commiſſioner to be choſe in the Place of *Tiberius*, for the Partition of the Lands; nay, and granted that Employment to *Publius Craſſus*, whoſe Daughter was married to *C. Gracchus*, *Tiberius*'s Brother. But all this was only to amuſe the People. *Tiberius*'s Laws were ſtill as odious as ever to the Great. The Death of *Appius Claudius*, one of the Triumvirs, gave them a new Pretence for ſuſpending the Execution of them; and the Diviſion of the Lands began to be look'd upon to be one of thoſe Affairs which it is intended to bring inſenſibly to nothing, by letting them drop into Oblivion.

Policy of Caius.

CAIUS *Gracchus* was the only Man from whom the People could look for Aſſiſtance. But beſides that he was too young to enter into Publick Buſineſs, being but One and twenty Years old when his Brother was kill'd; it was obſerv'd, that ſince his Death he always ſeemed unwilling to ſhow himſelf abroad, either fearing in Reality the Enemies of his Houſe, or deſigning by this affected Terror to make them more odious to the People. For it was not long before it appear'd, that he had thus voluntarily baniſh'd himſelf from the Converſation of the World, only to fit himſelf to ſhine in it more conſpicuouſly, and to revenge the Death of his Brother.

There were, as we have ſeen, but two Ways that led equally to all the Dignities of the Republick, Eloquence and remarkable Valour. CAIUS had already diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at the War of *Numantia*, under the young *Scipio*, his General, and Brother-in-Law. The Death of *Tiberius* and the ill Succeſs of his Party, having obliged him to diſappear, he ſpent the whole Time of his Retreat in the Study of Eloquence, a Talent ſo

abſolutely neceſſary in a Republican Government. He buried himſelf in his Cloſet; his Door was ſhut againſt the young *Romans* of his own Age, and the Friends of his Family. He was quickly forgot, and the Brother of *Tiberius*, and the Grandſon of the great *Scipio* was unknown in *Rome*. The Grandees beheld this Retreat with abundance of Pleaſure, as an Effect of the Conſternation, which the Death of his Brother had ſtruck into him, and as a ſilent Declaration that he durſt not meddle in the Government.

But they ſoon found that he had withdrawn himſelf from Buſineſs, only to make himſelf more capable of it. He came out of his Retreat to defend one of his Brother's Friends, named *Vectius*; whom the oppoſite Party endeavoured to deſtroy upon an Accuſation of ſeveral Crimes. CAIUS undertook his Defence: He for the firſt time aſcended the *Roſtrum*. The People could not ſee him in that Place without the loudeſt Acclamations, and the moſt extraordinary Tranſports of Joy. They imagin'd they ſaw reviv'd in his Perſon a Second *Tiberius*, and a new Protector of the *Agrarian* Laws. This Benevolence, which they ſhow'd him in ſo remarkable a Manner, inſpir'd him with a Confidence and Boldneſs very rarely known in thoſe who ſpeak in Publick for the firſt time; and he pleaded for his Client with ſo much Eloquence and Strength, that he was acquitted by the unanimous Voices of the whole Aſſembly. *Caius defends Vectius.*

Having by this firſt Action made a Trial of his own Capacity, and of the Diſpoſition of the Peoples Minds, he thought that before he launch'd wholly into publick Affairs, it would be of Service to him, to have that Reputation which is obtain'd by Valour, and the Exerciſe of Arms. He aſked and obtained the Office of Quæſtor to the Army which was then in *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Conſul *Oreſta:* This was the firſt *Caius, Quæſtor; his Character.* *Year of Rome* 627.

Employment, with which it was neceſſary to begin to attain the Dignities of the Republick. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Caius*, relates, that no Man in the Army ſhow'd more Valour againſt the Enemy, and more Regard to the Military Diſcipline. People above all admir'd, in an Age ſo little advanc'd, his Temperance, and the Auſterity of his Manners. Theſe did not make him the leſs civil or complaiſant. The Officer, and private Soldier, that had to do with him upon account of his Poſt, were equally charm'd with his Affability, his Diligence, and eſpecially with his Probity and Diſintereſtedneſs. The conſtant Practice of ſo many Virtues was not confined to the *Roman* Camp. CAIUS uſed the ſame Humanity towards all the Subjects of the Republick, that had Dependance upon his Office. The Citizen and Countryman, as well as the Soldier, thought themſelves equally happy in a Man of his Integrity. His Reputation quickly paſſed the Seas; and *Micipſa* King of *Numidia*, and Son of *Maſſiniſſa*, having ſent a Preſent of Corn for the Army in *Sardinia*, the Ambaſſadors, which that Prince then had at *Rome*, declared in full Senate, that the King, their Maſter, perform'd this Act of Generoſity only out of Reſpect to *Caius Gracchus*, whoſe Virtue he revered. This Declaration awaken'd the Jealouſy and Hatred of the Great. Virtues too bright were odious and dangerous to them. And to leſſen in ſome Degree the Quæſtor's Glory, and render him contemptible, they drove thoſe Ambaſſadors with Shame out of the Senate, as *Barbarians*, who by this Preference had been wanting of Reſpect to their Body.

Praiſed by Micipſa's *Ambaſſadors.*

A Treatment ſo unworthy, and which ſeemed to violate the Law of Nations, was ſoon heard of in *Sardinia*. CAIUS could not help feeling [illegible] Reſentment of this Mark of the implacable [illegible]ed of the Great. He then thought his Return [illegible] *Rome* [illegible]

neceſſary for the Support of his Credit, and to repel an Inſult made ſo directly upon himſelf, and viſibly with Deſign to render him contemptible to the People, and among the Nations abroad. He ſet out abruptly, and appeared in the *Forum*, when he was thought to be in *Sardinia*. The Enemies of his Family, who watched all his Steps, urg'd it as a Crime againſt him, that he was return'd before his General. He was cited before the Cenſors, where he quickly overthrew this Accuſation.

He returns from Sardinia.

He made appear, that he had ſtay'd three Years with his General, though a Quæſtor was allow'd to return to *Rome* at the End of a Year, and that thus he had ſerved two more than was preſcrib'd by the Laws. He added, that he was come back from *Sardinia* without Wealth; whereas, all that had preceded him in the ſame Employment, had enriched themſelves in it, and had brought home not only their Purſes fill'd with Gold and Silver, but had likewiſe ſtow'd it into the Pots and Veſſels, which when they went over into that Iſland, had ſerved them for the Carriage of Wine. We may eaſily imagine, that with ſuch Reaſons he was readily acquitted. His Enemies, who ſought nothing but to keep him from the Dignities, to which the Favour of the People, in all Probability, would ſpeedily raiſe him, charged him with a new Accuſation. They endeavour'd to throw upon him the Suſpicion of a Tumult that had happen'd at *Fregillæ*, a City dependent upon the Republick, which the Prætor *Opimius*, a ſevere cruel Man, had allay'd by the entire Ruin of that City, and the Death of the principal Inhabitants. That Senator, a declar'd Enemy to the Memory of *Tiberius*, in the Account which he gave in full Senate of his own Conduct in that Affair, forgot nothing which might inſinuate a Belief that CAIUS was the ſecret Mover of that Sedition. He added, that

he had diſcover'd a private Correſpondence between him and the chief Men of the City; that it was not probable they ſhould form ſuch a Project as withdrawing themſelves from their Subjection to the Senate, had they not receiv'd private Aſſurances of the Protection of the People; and that if their Diſobedience had met with Succeſs, it had perhaps been nothing but a Signal to a general Revolt againſt the Sovereignty of the Republick. But all that this paſſionate Senator advanced againſt CAIUS being without Proofs, his ill Deſigns had no Effect; and the young *Gracchus* thought he had no better way to revenge himſelf on his Enemies, than by boldly demanding the Office of Tribune of the People. This was attacking the Senate in their moſt tender Part. At the bare Name of *Gracchus*, the Grandees, and eſpecially thoſe of them whoſe Eſtates were in Danger by the Revival of the *Agrarian* Laws, burnt with Fury. They made a ſtrong Conſpiracy to keep him out of the Tribuneſhip. But the whole People declared in his Favour, and ſo great a Number of *Plebeians* flocked even out of the Country to give him their Voices, that the *Forum* not being able to contain ſuch a vaſt Multitude, many got up to the Tops of Houſes, from whence with loud Cries and Acclamations, mixed with Praiſes, they demanded CAIUS for their Tribune; and as in this Election, the Voices were reckon'd by Tale, the People more numerous than the Nobility, carry'd it by a vaſt Majority, and obtain'd CAIUS for one of their Tribunes. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with a Dignity, which gave him a Power almoſt without Bounds, but he built upon his Brother's Plan, Deſigns yet more daring, and carry'd them on even with more Warmth than he had done. The ſame Spirit, and the ſame Views, appeared in both the Brothers, though under different Characters. *Tiberius*, as we ſaid be-

Caius *Tribune, Year of* Rome, 630.

fore, conceal'd an unmoveable Firmneſs under a ſeeming Moderation. His Eloquence was ſoft and inſinuating; he endeavour'd to pleaſe, in order to perſuade; he ſought to move the Hearts of his Auditors; and when he ſtripp'd *Octavius* of the Tribuneſhip, it ſeemed as if he was as much touched with the Diſgrace as himſelf, and that nothing but the Love of Juſtice, and the Intereſt of the People, could have induc'd him to undertake ſo melancholy an Office, as that of making his Colleague unhappy. *Characters of* Tiberius *and* Caius.

CAIUS ſhow'd himſelf more [illegible]guiſed; full as eloquent, but ſharper in his Expreſſions, and more vehement than his Brother. His Speech was adorn'd with all the pathetick Figures; he even mingled Invectives with his Proofs and Arguments; his Zeal for the Intereſt of the People was turn'd into Rage againſt the Senate. Nothing but Thunder and Lightning, if we may uſe ſo bold an Expreſſion, iſſued out of his Mouth, and he ſtruck Terror into the very Souls of his Hearers. For the reſt, the Firmneſs of theſe two Brothers, their Love of Juſtice, their Integrity, their Temperance, their Contempt of Pleaſure, and their inviolable Adherence to the Intereſts of the People, were Qualities which they poſſeſs'd in an equal Degree.

It was only obſerv'd, that CAIUS had ſhowed more Inclination to Revenge; a Fault to which thoſe Pagans had given the Name of a Virtue, and which they look'd upon to be a Greatneſs of Soul. As his Office engaged him to ſpeak frequently to the People, whatever Subject he was upon, he always introduced the inhuman Manner in which the Senate had murder'd his Brother. "What did it avail *Tiberius*, ſaid he, to have been "born a *Roman*, and in the Boſom of a Repub-"lick, whoſe Laws all forbid the putting to death "any Citizen before he is convicted of the

" Crimes laid to his Charge? The Senate, the " *Patricians*, the Great, and the Rich, have aſſaſſi- " nated with Clubs, not a private Citizen, but a " Tribune of the People, a publick Magiſtrate, " and a ſacred Perſon. Their Fury did not ſtop at " depriving him of Life; even after Death they " continued to execute their Rage upon his " Corpſe; they dragg'd him baſely through the " Streets, and carry'd their Inhumanity to ſuch a " Height, as to throw him into the *Tyber*, in order " to deprive him of the Honours of Burial." By ſuch Diſcourſes, equally warm and moving, he raiſed the Compaſſion of the People, at the ſame time that he ſtirr'd up their Hatred and Indignation againſt the Senate and the Great. After having ſow'd in the Minds of Men theſe Seeds of Reſentment and Diviſion, he began to proſecute his own Revenge by the Propoſal of two new Edicts. The firſt declar'd that Magiſtrate to be infamous, who ſhould be depoſed by the Judgment of the People. This Law plainly regarded *Octavius*, the Tribune, whom *Tiberius* had removed. But *Plutarch* informs us, that *Caius*, at the Requeſt of his Mother *Cornelia*, to whom *Octavius* was ſomewhat ally'd, did not inſiſt upon the Promulgation of this Edict.

Two new Laws of Caius.

By the Second Law, and which he went through with, it was ordained, That any Magiſtrate that ſhould baniſh a *Roman* Citizen, without obſerving the Formalities preſcribed by the Laws, ſhould be accountable to the Aſſembly of the People. This Second Edict was propoſed, only to deſtroy *Popilius*, who during his Prætorſhip, had baniſh'd the Friends and Adherents of *Tiberius*. *Popilius* did not ſtay for his Trial; but knowing that CAIUS diſpoſed, as he pleaſed, of the Suffrages of the Multitude, and that ſo his Opponent and Enemy would be his Judge, he voluntarily baniſh'd himſelf from his Country to avoid a Puniſhment more ſevere.

Cic. in Cluentianâ, Rabirianâ, de perduellione, item pro domo ſuâ.

CAIUS

CAIUS finding, by this Trial of his Credit, that it was in his Power to do any Thing, formed Deſigns of greater Conſequence, the chief Aim of which was to convey the whole Authority of the Government from the Senate into the Aſſembly of the People. It was upon this Scheme that he made a new Edict, to give the Title and Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, to all the Inhabitants of *Latium*; and he afterwards made the ſame Law extend quite to the *Alps*. He at the ſame time propoſed, that the Colonies which ſhould be peopled by *Latins*, ſhou'd have the ſame Privileges as the Colonies of *Romans*; and that thoſe who had not the Right of Suffrage in the Election of Magiſtrates, might however give their Votes when any new Law was under Conſideration. By theſe Propoſals he increaſed the Number of the Peoples Voices; and theſe new Citizens, who owed that great Privilege to him, might be ſaid to be entirely at his Devotion, and followed his Orders as his Clients and Creatures. *Caius's Deſigns.*

CAIUS, to make himſelf more and more agreeable to the Multitude, fixed the Price of Grain at a very moderate Rate for their Relief. Some Hiſtorians even ſay, that during his Tribuneſhip, he cauſed a free Diſtribution of Corn to be made out of the Publick Granaries. The People who are always governed by thoſe who find Means to procure them Plenty, were never weary of praiſing a Magiſtrate, whoſe Thoughts ſeemed wholly employed for their Subſiſtence. But theſe Actions appeared dangerous to the Senate, who looked upon all theſe Innovations to be nothing but ſo many indirect Methods to undermine their Authority; and what filled up the Meaſure of their Hatred againſt the Tribune, was the Change he introduced in the Tribunals where Juſtice was diſpenſed to private Perſons.

Knights, Judges.

Theſe Tribunals had hitherto been filled by Perſons choſen out of the Body of the Senate, and this great Privilege kept the Knights and People in that Reſpect, which they always have for the Arbiters of their Eſtates and Fortunes. CAIUS, after the Example of his Brother *Tiberius*, reſolved to ſtrip the Senate of this Part of its Authority: And to effect his Purpoſe, he made it appear, that *Cornelius Cotta*, and *M. Acilius*, the chief of the Senate, who had been convicted of ſeveral Extortions, by moſt clear and undeniable Proofs, had yet eſcaped the Rigor of the Laws, through the Corruption of their Judges. From whence he afterwards took Occaſion to repreſent to the People, that they muſt never expect to obtain Juſtice in Tribunals, where the Criminals themſelves, or at leaſt their Relations and Accomplices, ſat as Judges; and concluded, with demanding that the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in private Suits, ſhould be transferred to the Knights; or at leaſt, that three Hundred of the moſt conſiderable ſhould be choſen out of that Order, to be aſſiſtant to the Senate with Equality of Voices, and Power in determining all Affairs.

The People received this Propoſal with the Applauſes which they gave to every Thing that came from the Tribune: And the Senate, confounded at the ſhameful Colluſion of the Judges in the Affair of *Cotta* and ACILIUS, knew not how to oppoſe this Law. It paſſed unanimouſly; and the People, whoſe Number of Votes made them more powerful than the Senate, and who idolized CAIUS, referred to him alone the Choice of thoſe three Hundred Knights that were to be admitted into the Magiſtracies of the City: He named none but his own Friends and Creatures. By theſe ſeveral Changes which he introduced into the Government, he made himſelf equally abſolute in [illegible] and all *Italy*. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that [illegible] employed

employed this Authority, ſo odious to the Senate, and ſo juſtly ſuſpicious in a Commonwealth, only for the Glory of his Country, and the Service of his Fellow-Citizens. Nay, he ſometimes hindred other Magiſtrates from carrying their Regard to the People too far; and *Fabius*, the Pro-Prætor of *Spain*, having extorted from the Cities under his Government, Corn which they were not bound to furniſh, and then ſent it to *Rome*, to make his Court to the meaner Sort of People; CAIUS, who could not bear either Injuſtice or Violence in the Government, got the People themſelves to adjudge that Corn to be ſold, and the Price to be returned to the Cities and Communities which had been wronged of it. The ſame Decree added, that the Pro-Prætor ſhould undergo a ſevere Reproof, for having by ſuch Oppreſſions expoſed the Republick to the Complaints and Diſguſts of her Subjects and Allies. Caius *labours for the Publick Good.*

This Decree, which was owing ſolely to him, gave his Friends an Opportunity of extolling his Love for Juſtice. But his Enemies, on the contrary, gave out, that they could ſee nothing in this Behaviour, but what was an Effect of his Jealouſy, and that he was too artful to allow any other Magiſtrate beſides himſelf, to win upon the Affections of the People, and to ſhare their Favour and Gratitude with himſelf.

CAIUS, without giving any heed to theſe Calumnies, ſought only to maintain the Alterations he had introduced by new Regulations, which he had ſtill the Art to cloath with the Appearance of the Publick Good. He propoſed the building Publick Granaries, there to keep a ſufficient Quantity of Grain to prevent Scarcity in barren Years. The Propoſal being agreed to, he took the Execution of it upon himſelf, as he generally did of all the Decrees which he offered. He himſelf puſhed on the Work, and took Care to have it done with a Magni- *Publick Granaries built.* Cicero. Livy.

Magnificence worthy of the Greatneſs of the *Romans*. Every Thing paſſed as it were through his own Hands; he would know every Thing himſelf. And under Pretence of watching to ſee that nothing was done contrary to the Intereſt of the People, he aſſumed to himſelf the whole Authority of the Government. He was eternally ſurrounded with Ambaſſadors, Magiſtrates, Soldiers, Men of Letters, Artificers, and Workmen, without ever being in the leaſt perplexed by the Number or Diverſity of his Affairs. Every Body admir'd his Activity; and his Enemies themſelves cou'd not diſown the Greatneſs and Clearneſs of his Capacity.

Caius's Authority.

But theſe very Talents, and above all the Uſe he made of them in Favour of the People, were what rendred him more and more odious to the Senate and Grandees of *Rome*, and they impatiently longed for the End of his Tribuneſhip and Authority. The *Comitia* at length came; the Aſſembly was held for the Election of Tribunes for the following Year. CAIUS did not make the leaſt Intereſt to be choſen; but the People who hoped to obtain new Privileges by his Means, named him Tribune a Second time; and it was obſerved, that he was the firſt Citizen that ever attained to that Dignity, without canvaſſing for it.

Tribune a ſecond time.

Year of Rome, 631.

The Senate cou'd not, without the moſt violent Uneaſineſs, behold the Continuation of a Magiſtrate, who by little and little was ſtealing away all their Authority. Various Councils were held; the hotter Sort were immediately for taking him off, and uſing him as they had done his Brother: But the Fear of raiſing a Sedition made them take another Method, which may be looked upon to be one of the fineſt Strokes of Policy that was ever practiſed. They reſolved before they proceeded to Violence, or undertook his Deſtruction by open Force, that they would endeavour to diminiſh and weaken the Affection the People bore him:

The Great contrive to ruin him.

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This Purpoſe, the beſt Heads in the Senate applied themſelves to *Livius Druſus*, his Colleague. He was a Man whoſe Meaning was always honeſt; of a Capacity juſt, but not very great; one that without ſiding with either Party, would have been glad to have reconciled their contrary Intereſts, and to have united the two Factions. But a Deſign of ſuch Difficulty, wherein Mens private Regards ſwayed them more than the publick Good, was above his Ability or Intereſt. The Senators that addreſſed themſelves to him, attacked him on his weak Side, and flattered his Vanity with the Glory of giving Peace to the Republick. *Druſus* joyfully offer'd his Aſſiſtance. "You are not deſired, ſaid thoſe crafty Senators, to declare "againſt the Intereſts of the People, who have "choſen you for one of their Magiſtrates; nor "even like *Octavius*, to oppoſe the Novelties "which *Caius* daily introduces. The Senate has "formed a nobler Deſign, and requires your Aſſiſtance, and the Intervention of the beſt Tribune that the Commonwealth ever had, only "to reſtore Peace and Union among the ſeveral "Orders of the State. Propoſe, if you think fit, "Laws ſtill more advantageous to the People, if "ſuch can be, than thoſe of *Caius*; the Senate "will approve every Thing; the only Favour "they deſire of you, is to declare publickly, "that the Laws and Edicts which you offer were "ſuggeſted to you by the Senate; and to add, "that they have no View but the Good and Proſperity of their Fellow Citizens.

The Senate ſet Druſus againſt Caius.

This dextrous Turn had all the Succeſs that they cou'd wiſh. *Druſus*, who ſaw nothing in this Deſign, contrary either to his own Intereſt, or to that of the People, came into all the Meaſures that they put him upon. If CAIUS propoſed to ſend two Colonies into two Cities, dependent upon the Republick, *Druſus*, to gratify a greater Number

ber of poor Families, was for repeopling twelve, and for ſending into each of thoſe Cities three Thouſand of the poorer Citizens. CAIUS having adjudged ſome uncultivated Lands to *Plebeians*, and having charged thoſe Lands with certain Rents and Services, *Druſus*, refining as it were upon his Art of flattering the People, gave to ſome poor Families the ſame Quantity of the like Lands, free and clear of all Deductions. Laſtly, CAIUS having, as we have ſaid before, procured to the *Latins* the Right of Suffrage in Elections, *Druſus*, by a new Decree, ordained, that thoſe People being now made Citizens of the Republick, it ſhould be no longer lawful for a *Roman* Captain to cauſe a Soldier of that Nation to be beaten with Rods. *Druſus*, upon every Propoſal, never failed to declare, as he was engaged to do, that he was only the Mouth of the Senate, who had charged him to make his Report thereof to the Aſſembly. This Conduct ſoftned the Minds of the People; the Senate was not ſo much hated as formerly; the two Parties ſeemed to be drawing to an Union. *Druſus* pleaſed the Multitude by the Merit of Novelty, and ſhared the Power of CAIUS. This was the Intention of the Senate. CAIUS could not, without a ſecret Concern, perceive that this Rival was getting from him part of the Favour of the People. He called him the Slave of the Senate; this Jealouſy of his diſpleaſed the beſt among the *Plebeians*; and his Behaviour in Relation to *Scipio Æmilianus*, his Brother-in-Law, made them doubt, whether his Virtue was ſo pure as it had hitherto been thought.

Animoſity of the Scipio's *againſt the* Gracchi.

We have already ſaid, that his Mother *Cornelia* was Daughter to *Scipio Africanus*, or the Firſt *Scipio*; and that the Second *Scipio*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into that *Patrician* Family, had married *Sempronia*, the Siſter of the two *Gracchi*. But notwithſtanding this double Alliance, the Difference and Emulation of the two

two Parties, and the Animoſity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, upon Account of the Diviſion of the Lands, had always prevented a true Union between thoſe two Families. The *Scipio's*, upon more than one Occaſion, had declared themſelves the Enemies of the *Sempronian* Family; the *Gracchi* even complained, that the young *Scipio* did not give his Wife *Sempronia* good Uſage, upon Pretence of her Sterility; and in general, all the *Scipio's* that had oppoſed *Tiberius's* Law, were ſuſpected of having had a Hand in the Death of that Tribune.

This perpetual Quarrel in the Republick, which, as we have ſeen, revived from Age to Age, and paſſed from Father to Son, broke out with more Animoſity than ever, after the Death of the elder *Gracchus*. CAIUS always kept cloſe to the Plans and Deſigns of his Brother; and not ſatisfied with having taken from the Senate its Tribunals and Authority, he undertook to ſtrip the chief Families of *Rome* of thoſe conquered Lands, which it is true they had moſt of them uſurped, but which they juſtified by a Poſſeſſion almoſt as ancient as the Foundation and Eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth it ſelf. *Caius publiſhes the Agrarian Laws.*

CAIUS thought he owed this great Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Brother, and that it concerned his Honour to puſh the Execution of Laws, which to obtain had coſt him his Life.

He aſſociated in his Deſign *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Conſular Perſon, but a Man of no Probity, and baſe Manners, and whoſe Friendſhip and Correſpondence did Prejudice to his Reputation. And *Papirius Carbo*, Tribune of the People, a bold ſeditious Man, offered his Aſſiſtance, in hopes to make himſelf conſiderable by his publick Adherence to the Party of CAIUS. That Tribune got them named with himſelf for *Triumvirs* in the Partition of the Lands. The Commiſſion cou'd not be given

given to Perſons of a more active enterprizing Temper; all three declared Enemies to the Senate, and extravagant Flatterers of the very baſeſt of the People.

Theſe *Triumvirs*, no ſooner ſaw themſelves authorized by a publick Decree, but they cited by ſound of Trumpet all the Detainers of thoſe Lands, to bring, before their Tribunal, the Titles they held them by, with an exact Account of what Quantity they poſſeſſed, to enable them to judge of thoſe who came within the Caſe of the *Lex Licinia*, and that enjoyed above five Hundred Acres. There was hardly any of the Grandees in *Rome* but what poſſeſſed a larger Quantity; nay, and moſt of them were engaged in Law-Suits about the Bounds of their Uſurpations. Theſe Men, being grown more powerful than is convenient in a Commonwealth, armed publickly, and put Soldiers upon their Lands to defend their Poſſeſſion; and thoſe who were not quite ſo audacious, implored the Protection of the young *Scipio*, the greateſt *Roman* of his time. But as much as he was reſpected by his Countrymen, he durſt not venture to ſet himſelf againſt the People, or attack directly the Laws of the *Gracchi*, his Brothers-in-Law. He took a more artful way to elude, at leaſt, the Execution of them. He repreſented with a great deal of Cunning in an Aſſembly, that the *Triumvirs* had been named, only to examine, Whether there were any Citizens, that contrary to the Laws poſſeſſed above five Hundred Acres of Land; to diſtribute what exceeded that Quantity among poor Citizens; and that their Commiſſion and Power were confined to thoſe two Articles. He added, that before they proceeded to this Inquiſition, it was neceſſary to know the fixed and certain Bounds of every Man's Inheritance. But that the Proprietors, having various Pretenſions upon the Bounds of each other, the Cognizance

Scipio *croſſes* Caius's *Meaſures.*

zance and Judgment of thoſe reciprocal Pretenſions, exceeded the Power of the *Triumvirs*, and required other Judges, or at leaſt a more extenſive Commiſſion.

The Propoſal paſſed by Plurality of Voices. *Scipio* had the Addreſs and Intereſt to get this Part of the Commiſſion out of the Hands of the *Triumvirs*, and to procure it for *Tuditanus*, who was then Conſul, and who under a ſeeming Indifference for either Party, concealed an entire Devotion to the Senate, and the Intereſts of the Great. That Magiſtrate, to impoſe upon the People, laboured for ſome Time with a great deal of Application, in examining every Man's Pretenſions, and regulating the mutual Bounds of their Inheritances. The *Triumvirs* with Pleaſure ſaw him proceed in his Work, hoping he would ſoon enable them to execute their Commiſſion; but ſome Time afterwards he quitted *Rome* abruptly, upon Advice which he cauſed to be brought, that his Preſence was neceſſary in *Illyrium*, where the *Romans* were then making War. His Abſence left all thoſe Law-Suits undecided, and conſequently ſuſpended the Function of the *Triumvirs*, who could never forgive *Scipio* his having overthrown their Deſigns, and vacated their Commiſſion. They reproached him in the Aſſemblies, that though he owed his whole Glory to the *Roman* People, and had received two Conſulates ſucceſſively, contrary to all Laws, by their Means, when the Senate and Grandees oppoſed him; yet now in favour of thoſe imperious Men, he was not aſhamed to ſtand up againſt the Eſtabliſhment of the *Agrarian* Laws, ſo neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of the poor People, and ſealed with the Blood of *Tiberius*.

Ap. Alex. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

And hereupon *Carbo*, that audacious *Tribune*, mentioned above, called upon him in a full Aſſembly to declare what he thought of the manner in which *Tiberius* had been ſlain; meaning by this enſna-

Carbo *falls on* Scipio.

enſnaring Queſtion to bring him under a Neceſſity of returning ſuch an Anſwer, as muſt make him odious either to the People or the Senate.

But *Scipio*, without being at all at a Loſs, boldly replied, That if *Tiberius* had indeed a Deſign to make himſelf the Tyrant of his Country, he thought his Death but juſt. The whole Body of the People, who adored his Memory, ſhowing their Indignation by great Outcries: *To what Purpoſe is all this Noiſe*, ſays *Scipio*, with that Air of Greatneſs which was ſo natural to him? *Do you think your Clamours will terrify a General, whom the Noiſe of ſo many Armies of Enemies could never daunt?* CAIUS did not at all concern himſelf in this Diſpute: He kept a ſullen Silence. But *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Man of a hot violent Temper, gave *Scipio* a great many Threats; and next Morning that illuſtrious *Roman* was found dead in his Bed, with Marks about his Neck, of the Violence which had been uſed upon him.

Death of Scipio; ſuppoſed to be murder'd.

No body knew whom to charge with ſo great a Crime. The firſt Suſpicions fell upon *Flaccus*, who the Day before had threaten'd him with the Reſentment of the People. Others imagin'd, that ſo daring an Act muſt proceed from ſome nearer Hand. They laid it to *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi*; and reported, that her Daughter *Sempronia* her ſelf, the Wife of *Scipio*, to get rid of the Enemy of her Family, and of a Huſband that deſpiſed her, had in the Night convey'd the Murderers into his Chamber.

The People, for fear CAIUS might be found an Accomplice in the Crime, would not ſuffer any Search to be made into it. He himſelf ſtirr'd not in the leaſt to diſcover the Criminals; and that Magiſtrate, ſo remarkable for his Severity, that affected the Title of Defender of the Laws, and the avowed Foe to any that made the leaſt Attempt upon the Publick Liberty, did now, in the

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Aſſaſſination of ſo great a Man; preſerve a ſcandalous Silence, which juſtly made it be ſuſpected, that either he or his Friends did not think themſelves ſufficiently innocent to endure too ſtrict an Enquiry.

This Silence in CAIUS, which was yet more criminal than the Murder it ſelf, occaſion'd the publick Complaints of all the Nobility, and made the beſt Men even among the People entertain violent Suſpicions againſt his Virtue. To remove the Memory of ſo black a Crime, and employ Mens Thoughts, CAIUS made uſe of his Colleague, *Q. Rubrius*, whom he put upon propoſing new Deſigns. That *Tribune* adviſed the People to rebuild *Carthage*, which *Scipio* had deſtroy'd, and to ſend a ſtrong Colony thither. CAIUS back'd this Propoſal with all his Might, and omitted nothing in all Aſſemblies that could bring the People into this Enterprize: He cry'd up the Fertility of the Soil, the Neighbourhood of the Sea, the Safety and Conveniency of its Port: And as he imagined in the preſent State of Things, his Abſence from *Rome*, and that of *Fulvius Flaccus*, would not be unſerviceable in deſtroying thoſe Reports, ſo injurious to his Glory, he ſolicited and obtain'd the Conduct of this Expedition, which was intruſted to him by a Publick Decree, conjointly with *Flaccus*, ſuſpected, like himſelf, of *Scipio*'s Death.

Carthage re-built.

Vel. Paterc. l. 1. Plut. in Gracchis. App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

They carried over into *Africa* ſix Thouſand *Roman* Families, which they put into the Poſſeſſion of *Carthage*, and its Territory. But while he was buſied in reſtoring the Walls, or to ſpeak more truly, in demoliſhing *Scipio*'s Trophies, *Druſus*, who acted only by the Impreſſion of the Senate's Counſels, took Advantage of his Abſence, to make *Flaccus* more odious. He revived all the Circumſtances that could make him ſuſpected of *Scipio*'s Murder. This was an indirect Attack upon CAIUS himſelf, who had ſuch ſtrict Ties with that Senator;

Caius and Flaccus ſuſpected.

nator. *Druſus*, in all his Diſcourſes, repreſented him as a Man of a violent and ſeditious Temper, and that ſought his own Promotion in nothing but the Troubles of the State. He was even accuſed of having endeavour'd to induce the Nations of *Italy* to a Revolt. There was a Talk of proſecuting him for theſe Crimes. The Credit and Eſteem of CAIUS, his Protector, decreaſed in his Abſence: The People began to forget him, and placed their whole Confidence in *Druſus*, whoſe Reputation was clear, and his Conduct perfectly moderate. CAIUS, judging of the Diminution of his Intereſt, by the Danger his Friend was in, haſten'd to *Rome*, to reanimate his Faction. Upon his Arrival, he even left his Houſe, which was on *Mount Palatine*, and choſe a Lodging near the Market, in a Part of the City inhabited by an infinite Number of the pooreſt People. He then propoſed new Laws, which all tended to the weakening of the Senate's Authority. He was to get them received in the next Aſſembly; but as he was doubtful of the Succeſs, and his Party ſeemed neither ſo numerous, nor ſo full of Warmth as he uſed to find them, he ſent for to *Rome* great Numbers of thoſe People of *Italy*, for whom he had procur'd the Right of Suffrage.

The Senate, very much diſturbed at this Crowd of Strangers, which filled the City, and who ſeemed to come thither to diſpoſe of the Government as they pleaſed, made uſe of the Authority of the Conſul *Fannius*, to order all that were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City forthwith.

Caius's Credit is diminiſhed.

CAIUS, that the People might not perceive the Diminution of his Credit, though ſince his Return from *Africa*, he found himſelf much leſs regarded, publiſh'd a Decree directly to the contrary Effect: He encouraged thoſe Strangers to remain in the City, and promiſed them the Aſſiſtance of the Laws, and the Protection of the People, againſt the Conſul's Order.

Never-

Nevertheleſs, he afterwards ſaw *Fannius*'s Lictors drag to Priſon one of thoſe Strangers, his Friend, and his Gueſt, whom they ſeized on purpoſe to affront him. He look'd upon his Diſgrace, and the ill Treatment they gave him, without oppoſing it; either that he feared to raiſe a Civil War, or that finding his Power decay'd, ſince the Murder of *Scipio*, he was unwilling to let the Weakneſs of his Party become publick. And he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf abandon'd by the very Heads of it, upon Occaſion of a Diſpute which he had with the other *Tribunes*, his Colleagues, who, before this Difference, were always very firm in his Intereſts.

The Grandees of *Rome* had cauſed Scaffolds to be built in the *Forum*, for their more convenient ſeeing the publick Spectacles, and a Combat of Gladiators that was to be fought there; and the Workmen had built a great Number beſides, upon their own Account, which they had let out to rich Families. CAIUS paſſing through the *Forum*, and ſeeing it clogg'd up with all thoſe Scaffolds, ordered them to be taken down, that the People might have more Room, and ſee the Sports Free-coſt. The Grandees had Recourſe to the Authority of his Colleagues, who out of Complaiſance to the chief Families in *Rome*, order'd that the Scaffolds ſhould ſtand: Nay, 'tis not very certain whether thoſe Magiſtrates of the People had not ſecretly a Share in the Profit of thoſe Scaffolds that were let out to private People. CAIUS, who could not bear any Oppoſition in what he thought juſt, took along with him that Multitude of Workmen that were at his Devotion; and the Night before the Games, he cauſed all thoſe Scaffolds to be demoliſhed, and the Materials to be carried away; ſo that the Place was free for next Day. The People admir'd his Reſolution and Cou-

Caius's Quarrel with his Colleagues.

rage; but his Colleagues being vexed, that he ſhould carry every Thing thus with a high Hand, and jealous withal of the Sway he had obtained in *Rome*, quite broke off from his Intereſts: They privately joined in with his Enemies to exclude him from the Tribuneſhip. And in the following *Comitia*, where CAIUS ſhould have been elected *Tribune* for the third Time, the People having given him the greater Number of Voices, thoſe *Tribunes*, who by their Office were to count the Votes, to be revenged of him, were ſuſpected to have ſuppreſſed Part of the Billets, and made a falſe Report of the Scrutiny; and by this Fraud CAIUS was ſhut out from the Tribuneſhip.

Excluded from the Tribuneſhip.

The Senate no ſooner ſaw him brought back to a private Condition, but they reſolved to aboliſh all his Laws, and gave the Care of it to the Conſul *Opimius*, the very Man that during his Prætorſhip, endeavoured to involve CAIUS in the Sedition of *Fregellæ*. This Conſul, as we have already ſaid, was a declared Enemy to the *Gracchi*; a Man of a haughty Temper, proud of his Birth and Dignity, deſpiſing the People, and who, without concerning himſelf about the Formalities of the Laws, ſeemed reſolved to put an End to this great Difference, by the Death of CAIUS.

Opimius *ſet againſt* Caius.

He began with abrogating himſelf, the Decree that ordained the Reſtoration of *Carthage*, and convened a General Aſſembly to ſuppreſs all the other Laws; and that he might be ſtrong enough to ſupport his Party, he brought into the City a Body of *Candiot* Troops, that were in the Pay of the Commonwealth.

Theſe he uſed as a Guard: He went no where without being attended with theſe Foreign Soldiers, and ſurrounded by all thoſe Grandees of *Rome*, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſuppreſs the Laws of the *Gracchi*. Theſe Grandees were themſelves conſtantly attended with a Crowd of Servants and Clients,

Clients, whom Cuſtom kept in their Train and Obedience.

The Conſul, thus guarded, publickly inſulted CAIUS where-ever he met him: He affronted him with opprobrious Language, to produce a Quarrel, and ſo to get an Occaſion of falling upon him, and killing him. CAIUS, more moderate, or finding that he was not the ſtronger, overlook'd theſe Outrages. But *Flaccus*, leſs patient, and enraged at the Inſolence of the Great, made it ſo plain to him, that he was loſing the whole Glory of his two Tribuneſhips, by a Moderation, which his Enemies look'd upon to be nothing but Cowardice, that he at length reſolved to oppoſe Force with Force.

He called about him the moſt zealous *Plebeians*, and at the ſame time brought into the City a great Number of *Latins*, and other Inhabitants of *Italy*, diſguiſed like Reapers, who came as Men wanting Work and Employment. All *Rome* was divided between theſe two Parties. That of CAIUS ſeemed the ſtronger, becauſe it was the more numerous, and that he govern'd the People as he pleaſed. But in the other was ſeen the chief Magiſtrate, a Legal Authority, and even more Conduct, and Deſigns better concerted.

At length the Day being come, which was to decide whether the Laws of the *Gracchi* ſhould ſubſiſt or be aboliſh'd, the two Factions repaired very early in the Morning to the Capitol. The Conſul, according to Cuſtom, began with ſacrificing to the Gods. It is ſaid, that one of his Lictors, named *Quintus* ATTILIUS, having taken upon him to repreſent to CAIUS the Misfortunes he muſt occaſion to his Country, if he ſtill continued obſtinate in maintaining the Laws which he had contriv'd; and that CAIUS having ſhown by a Geſture of Diſpleaſure and Contempt, that he did not care to be documented by ſo mean an Officer,

A Lictor kill'd.

the Lictor was killed upon the Spot by ſome *Plebeians*. Other Hiſtorians relate this Fact after a different Manner. They tell us, that this Lictor was the Cauſe of his own Death, by his Inſolence; and that as he was carrying the Entrails of the Victim which the Conſul had ſacrific'd, he cried out aloud to *Flaccus*, and thoſe of his Party, *Make way there, evil Citizens as you are.* They add, that to theſe injurious Words, he joined an Action of the Hand diſhoneſt and contemptuous; and that theſe latter, to puniſh him for this Inſult, ſtabbed him with the Pins of their Table-Books, and ſlew him upon the Spot.

The People ſeemed not to approve this haſty Action; and CAIUS, who foreſaw the Conſequences, was yet more concern'd. He upbraided his Adherents, that they had now given their Enemies the Pretence, they had ſo long wanted, for ſhedding of Blood.

Accordingly the Senate immediately aſſembled, and decreed upon the Death of an ordinary Lictor, as upon the greateſt Calamity of the Republick, *That the Conſuls ſhould take Care the State ſuffer'd no Prejudice.* By this extraordinary Decree, the Conſuls received from the Senate the moſt extenſive Authority. They had Power from this Ordinance to raiſe as many Troops as they thought proper; to uſe any Means whatſoever for the quelling of rebellious Citizens; to declare War againſt the Enemy; in a word, they were inveſted with abſolute Power, both in the City, and in the Army.

Opimius *arms againſt* Caius.

Opimius, by virtue of this Decree, commanded all the Senators and Knights to take Arms, and to appear next Day at the *Forum*, with each at leaſt two Slaves armed. *Flaccus*, on his Side, endeavour'd to raiſe the Mob, and to make the People take Arms: But he met with nothing but a general Conſternation in every Man's Face, and an univerſal Dejection of Mind. CAIUS, as he went home,

home, ſtopp'd in the *Forum* at a Statue of his Father which was erected there; and looking at it mournfully, without uttering a Word, the Tears were ſeen to run down from his Eyes, as foreſeeing with Grief, the Blood that muſt be ſpilt in his Quarrel the next Day. Thoſe that accompanied him, moved with Compaſſion, urged to one another, that they ſhould be the baſeſt of Wretches to abandon ſo great a Man, who was in Danger only for their Sakes. Moſt of them ſpent the Night at his Door, rather to ſhew their Zeal and Affection, than in hopes of being of much Service to him. *L. Flaccus* employed that time in gathering together their Friends, and the Chief of the People. He got a pretty conſiderable Number to take Arms, and Day no ſooner appeared, but he took Poſſeſſion of *Mount Aventine*.

CAIUS at the ſame time made ready to follow him; but would not arm himſelf, not for want of Courage, but to avoid coming to Extremities with his Fellow-Citizens. He put on nothing but his ordinary Gown, and only took under it a ſhort Sword to defend himſelf, if he were attacked. As he was juſt going out of his Houſe, his Wife, all in Tears, ran to ſtop him. "Whither goeſt thou, "*Caius*, (ſays ſhe) embracing him tenderly? "What is thy Deſign? And why doſt thou leave "thy Houſe ſo early? Can'ſt thou be ignorant "that the Murderers who ſlew thy Brother, are "preparing the ſame Fate for thee; and that thou "haſt no Defenders but a vile Rabble, who will "baſely leave thee at the Sight of the leaſt Danger? Conſider that *Rome* is no longer what ſhe "was: Virtue is baniſhed from within her Walls; "every Thing here is decided by Violence. And "what Confidence can'ſt thou place in the Authority of the Laws, or even in the Juſtice of the "Gods; thoſe Gods, that either thro' Blindneſs or "Impotence, could ſuffer *Tiberius* to be murder'd?

Caius, pierced to the Heart with Grief, and not having Power to anſwer her, broke away from between her Arms, and went to join *Flaccus*, who had put himſelf at the Head of their Party. Here he found nothing but a Multitude of People, without Order, and with more Fury than Strength. The Senate on the contrary, and the whole Body of the Nobility, attended by their Clients and Domeſticks, formed a very powerful Party. Caius, perceiving he was in no Condition to withſtand them, prevailed upon *Flaccus*, that a Deputy ſhould be ſent to the Conſul, to deſire Peace, and to conjure him to ſpare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens. They gave this Commiſſion to the youngeſt of *Flaccus*'s Sons, who preſented himſelf before the Conſul, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and propoſed a Reconciliation between the two Parties.

Many Senators of good Intentions were for accepting of this Propoſal, and for coming to a Conference with the Heads of the Party of the People. But *Opimius*, making an Eſtimate of his Weakneſs by his Submiſſion, gave Anſwer to the Son of *Flaccus*, That there was no other Reconciliation to be hoped for, but that thoſe who were in the Fault, ſhould yield themſelves to the Judgment of the Senate, and the Rigor of the Laws. At the ſame Time, he ſent back the Child with a Prohibition, enforced with the moſt grievous Threats, never to appear again before him, unleſs his Father and his Adherents ſubmitted to whatſoever the Senate ſhould pleaſe to decree concerning them. Beſides this, he ſet a Price upon Caius's Head, which was its Weight in Gold to any one that ſhould bring it in; and to weaken and divide his Party, he proſcribed by Sound of Trumpet all that ſided with him, with Promiſe however of Pardon to thoſe who ſhould leave him immediately.

This

This Proſcription had all the Effect which the Conſul could hope from it. Moſt of the common People that had followed *Flaccus* by the Encouragement of one another, grew afraid; ſlipt away one by one, and deſerted their Leaders: They had ſcarce above four or five Thouſand Men left with them. CAIUS, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to withſtand the adverſe Party; and, perhaps, to prevent Effuſion of Blood, was for going in Perſon to anſwer for his Conduct to the Senate: But his Adherents would not ſuffer him, fearing to be deprived of their Leader; and choſe rather to ſend the young Son of *Flaccus* once more to deſire Peace.

Opimius, without ſo much as hearing him, cauſed him to be ſeized for returning contrary to his Prohibition. And without giving the People time to think what to do, he marched againſt them, and charged them with his *Candiots*, whoſe Arrows ſoon diſperſed the Multitude. Then the Senators and Knights falling Sword in Hand upon the Rout, ſlew a great Number: It is ſaid, that there fell three Thouſand of the People. *Flaccus*, in this Diſorder, hid himſelf in the Ruins of an old Houſe, where being found, he was ſlain with his eldeſt Son. CAIUS retired into the Temple of *Diana*, where he would have killed himſelf. But *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, two of his Friends, prevented him, and forced him to endeavour to make his Eſcape. It is ſaid, that before he left that Temple, he beſought the Goddeſs, that the *Roman* People, who had ſo baſely deſerted their Protectors, might never be freed from their Slavery. He then betook himſelf to Flight, with his two faithful Friends, and a Slave, named *Philocrates*. His Enemies purſued him cloſe; but coming to a Bridge, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, to aſſiſt his Flight ſtood their Ground Sword in Hand, and for ſome time ſtopped the Purſuers, who could gain no

Paſſage

Paſſage till they had killed thoſe two generous *Romans*.

Caius *kill'd.*

CAIUS had Time to get into a little Wood, conſecrated to the Furies; but finding it was impoſſible to eſcape his Enemies, who had ſurrounded the Grove, we are told, that he cauſed *Philocrates* to kill him; and that the faithful Slave afterwards ſlew himſelf upon his Maſter's Body. Others ſay, that *Caius* being overtaken by thoſe that purſued him, *Philocrates*, embracing his Maſter, covered him with his Body; and that they could not get at him till they had ſlain that faithful Servant. They cut off *Caius*'s Head, and the Murderers ſtuck it at the End of a Spear. A certain Man, named *Septimuleius*, a Creature of *Opimius*, ſtole it from thoſe who carried it thus like a Trophy; and having privately taken out the Brain, filled it with melted Lead, to make it more heavy, and then delivered it to the Conſul for Seventeen Pounds and a half of Gold.

Opimius's *Cruelty.*

The Body was thrown into the *Tyber*, with thoſe of *Flaccus* and above three Thouſand Citizens that fell in this Commotion. The Conſul, whoſe implacable Hatred was not yet aſſwaged with all this Blood, threw into Priſon all the Friends and Adherents of the *Gracchi* that he could diſcover, where they were put to Death. Their Goods were confiſcated; their Widows were forbid to wear Mourning for them. *Licinia*, the Wife of CAIUS, was even deprived of her Dowry; and *Opimius*, whoſe Rage ſtill purſued the miſerable Remains of that Party, extended his Inhumanity even to the poor Child that had been ſent to him with Words of Peace, and cauſed him to be put to Death in Priſon.

App. Alex. de Bello Civ. l. 1.

This cruel Magiſtrate, after having ſhed ſo much Blood, was not aſhamed to build a Temple to *Concord*; as if he had by pacifick Meaſures brought his Fellow-Citizens to a Union. The

People never ſaw this Temple without Horror, and looked upon it as a Monument of his Pride and Cruelty. But *Opimius*, without being at all concerned at this impotent Diſpleaſure, thought of nothing but how to extinguiſh the very Memory of the Laws of the *Gracchi*. It was to this Purpoſe that a *Tribune* of the People, who, in all Probability, was bribed by him, and the other Grandees of *Rome*, repreſented in an Aſſembly, That he met with unſurmountable Difficulties in the Inquiry after, and Partition of, the Lands; but that to relieve the People, he would take Care that every Proprietor of ſuch Lands ſhould pay a certain Rent proportionable to the Quantity he poſſeſſed; and that the Money ariſing from theſe Rents, ſhould be diſtributed among the poor Citizens, and thoſe eſpecially who enjoy'd no Share of thoſe Publick Lands. He added, that in Conſideration of this Payment, he was of Opinion, that thoſe who poſſeſſed ſuch Lands, ſhould be acknowledged the lawful Proprietors of them, with a diſcharge from all Claims for the future; and that they ſhould be allowed afterwards to ſell and diſpoſe of thoſe Inheritances, but always ſubject to the Rent that ſhould be agreed upon.

The Laws of the Gracchi aboliſh'd.

Idem. App. ibid.

The People, ſeduced with the Hopes of this Advantage, and deceived by their *Tribune*, paſſed this Law which abſolutely deſtroy'd that of the *Gracchi*. The rich Citizen, no longer fearing any Inquiſition, extended, without Scruple, the Bounds of his Domain. They ſtrove now who ſhould firſt purchaſe the Inheritance of a poor Neighbour. All the Lands came into the Poſſeſſion of the Great; and the meaner ſort of People relapſed into the Poverty which the two *Gracchi* had ſtrove to prevent.

In a ſhort Time, the Rents which were to be paid for their Uſe, were no longer talked of. The Rich, and the Grandees of *Rome*, ſuppreſſed, as

it

The great ones ſeize the Lands.

it were by Agreement among themſelves, this Mark of the Nature and Dependence of thoſe Lands. Another *Tribune*, no leſs falſe to his Party than him we juſt now mention'd, eluded inſenſibly the Obſervation of this Part of the Law, pretending that the Great paid a ſufficient Tribute to the Republick, by the Services they did her in the Magiſtracies, with which they were inveſted. And it was by this Chain of Artifices joined to Force and Violence, that the more Powerful at length remained in Poſſeſſion of theſe publick Lands, which they had made their Prey, and uſurped as their own particular Conqueſt.

We ſhall be the leſs ſurpriz'd at this, if we conſider, that the *Plebeians* now no longer found Protection in the Animoſity of the *Tribunes* againſt the *Patricians* and Nobles. Thoſe two Factions, who were always before kept aſunder by the Diſtinction of their Birth, were now turned into two Parties, merely of Rich and Poor, of whatever Order they were born; and the poor Citizens, abandoned by the rich *Plebeians*, who joined in with the Senate, alſo ſaw themſelves baſely betrayed by their own Magiſtrates, who were Accomplices in the Uſurpation of thoſe Lands, which the People claimed in vain. There never aroſe, after the unhappy End of the *Gracchi*, any *Tribune* ſo impartial or ſo generous as to dare publickly to undertake their Defence. Avarice, private Views, Deſire of raiſing themſelves by the particular Favour of the Great, had taken the Place of Zeal for the Publick Good. Pride and Luxury ſucceeded to that noble publick Spirit, and that Love of their Country, to which *Rome* owed her Greatneſs and Power.

In a Corruption almoſt general, the Affair of *Jugurtha* awaken'd the People out of the Dejection and Conſternation into which the Loſs of the *Gracchi* had thrown them. And they gladly laid hold

hold of this Opportunity to revenge themſelves, upon the Conſul *Opimius*, and puniſh the ſordid Avarice of the chief Men in the Republick.

Maſiniſſa, the famous *African* Prince, illuſtrious for his Friendſhip with the *Scipioes*, and ſo noted for his inviolable Firmneſs to the Party of the *Romans*, had received from them the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in Return for the Services he had done them againſt the *Carthaginians*. At his Death he left his Kingdom, with the Protection of the *Romans*, to *Micipſa*, who ſucceeded him. This Prince had two Sons, the eldeſt named *Adherbal*, and the younger *Hiempſal*. He had beſides, a Nephew named JUGURTHA, Son of his Brother *Manaſtabal*, who died before *Maſiniſſa*: But that old Prince had left him in an obſcure Condition; and would never own him for his Grandſon, becauſe he was not born in lawful Marriage. Jugurtha.

Micipſa ſeeing him of a comely Make, and promiſing Aſpect, took him out of his Obſcurity, and had him educated with the Princes his Sons, tho' he was older than they. JUGURTHA, (ſays *Saluſt*) perfectly well anſwered the Intentions of the King his Uncle, and the Inſtructions of his Maſters. None of the young Noblemen of his Age excell'd him either in drawing the Bow, managing the Horſe, or diſputing the Prize in the Race. If he went a Hunting, and met with a Lion, or any other wild Beaſt, he immediately preſſed to the Head of the Hunters, to give him the firſt Wound; and when, after having ſlain him he received Praiſes for his Boldneſs, either through Pride or Modeſty, he contemned thoſe kind of Victories, as very far beneath (ſaid he) what ought to be expected from the Courage and Valour of a Prince. *A Character of him.*

The King of *Numidia*, at firſt, rejoiced in the good Succeſs of his Care; and looked with Pleaſure

ſure upon the young *Jugurtha*, as the Ornament of his Court. But it was not long before there was perceived in that Prince an inordinate Ambition, guided by a Genius artful, inſinuating, dextrous and deceitful. *Micipſa*'s Joy was now turned into Fear, eſpecially when he conſider'd his own great Age, and the Youth of his Sons; and he ſaw, with Grief, that he had nouriſhed in his Houſe a ſecret Enemy, and perhaps, the future Deſtroyer of it. To eaſe himſelf of theſe Apprehenſions, he reſolved to ſend him to the War, in Hopes the Chance of Arms might remove him. He put him at the Head of a Body of Troops which he ſent to *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was then beſieging *Numantia* in *Spain*.

Year of Rome, 630.

But JUGURTHA found Means to draw ſeveral Advantages from a Deſign that was laid only to deſtroy him. He began with winning and ſecuring to his Intereſts, both the Soldier and Officer that was under his Command, by Favours, Preſents, and above all, by ſurprizing Acts of Valour. The *Romans* themſelves, ſuch good Judges of this kind of Merit, agreed, that it was impoſſible for a young Prince to have more Courage, or indeed more Knowledge at thoſe Years in the Art of War. This general Eſteem gained him great Numbers of Friends, among whom he enter'd into very ſtrict Engagements, with ſuch Officers as he thought had moſt Intereſt in the Senate, and at *Rome*. The cunning *African*, who foreſaw of how much Uſe the Credit of thoſe principal Officers might be to him in raiſing him to his Hopes, forgot no Method to engage them in his Intereſts. He won them by repeated Preſents; and thoſe mercenary Souls, to procure themſelves more, encouraged him in his Ambition. They inſinuated to him, that without minding Seniority of Birth, he ought, after *Micipſa*'s Death, to lay open Claim to his Crown; and that provided he wanted not Money, he

His firſt Campaigns.

he would never want Friends or powerful Protectors in the Senate, where moſt of the Suffrages were little better than Venal.

Scipio, inform'd of theſe Cabals, and angry at their corrupting the Mind of the young Prince by ſuch pernicious Maxims, took him aſide, and adviſed him in a friendly Manner, never to ſeek the Friendſhip of the *Romans* any otherwiſe than by honourable Means, and Actions worthy of his Courage and Birth. He added, to let him ſee he was not ignorant of his moſt private Intrigues, that it was always dangerous to go about to purchaſe of a few particular Perſons, that which belonged to the Publick: That with ſo much Valour as he had ſhown, he could never want Crowns; but that if through a too greedy Thirſt of Reigning, he employ'd unworthy Means to attain it, he foretold him, as his Friend, that he would loſe the very Money which he ſpent in corrupting of Voices; and that at length he would loſe himſelf. *Jugurtha*, whoſe flexible and artful Mind eaſily aſſumed all manner of Shapes, feigned to be touch'd with theſe Remonſtrances. He promiſed *Scipio* to improve by them, and after the End of the Campaign, he took his Leave of that General, who wrote in his Favour to the King of *Numidia*, that he was very well pleaſed with his Services; and that none could have ſhowed more Courage and Conduct than he had done in all the Occaſions wherein he had fought. *Scipio's Advice to Jugurtha.*

Jugurtha being returned into *Numidia*, with the Addition of Luſtre which he received from the Glory he had acquir'd in the Army, and from the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, begins to lay the Foundation of his Greatneſs. He makes new Friends; he buys himſelf Creatures; gains Part of the Miniſters; intimidates the reſt; and at length finds Ways to have it inſinuated to the old King, that he could not do a wiſer Action, than to adopt him, in order to give his two Sons, as it were, a third

Bro-

Brother, who would be a Guardian to them, and a Protector to the State. The weak old Man, whoſe Senſes were enfeebled by his great Age, adopts him publickly. He flatter'd himſelf, that by ſo great a Favour, he had made ſure of him whom he could not deſtroy. But he was no ſooner expir'd, than JUGURTHA made it evident, that Policy does not reckon Gratitude in the Number of the Virtues. Ambition and his own Intereſt made him turn againſt the Family of *Micipſa*, the very Power with which he had been inveſted only for its Protection. *Numidia* was now divided into three Principalities; and there reigned in the ſame Kingdom, and as it were on the ſame Throne, three Sovereigns independent of each other, though all three equally in the Dependence, and under the Protection of the *Romans*. JUGURTHA, who aſpir'd to be ſole Maſter of *Numidia*, reſolved to rid himſelf of the two young Princes. He firſt lays Snares for the younger, whom he cauſes to be ſtabbed in his Bed: And this was the firſt Victim that he ſacrific'd to his Ambition.

Adopted by Micipſa.

His Ambition.

The elder, filled with Fear at ſo black an Action, immediately makes his Eſcape to the Province which had fallen to his Share; and though he was no Warrior, he arms with all Expedition, as well to defend himſelf againſt the Attempts of JUGURTHA, as to revenge the Death of his Brother. JUGURTHA, on his part, makes Levies of Troops with equal Diligence. The whole Nation divides it ſelf; every Man chuſes his Side in this Civil War. The greater Number of *Numidian* Noblemen declare for *Adherbal*; but the beſt Soldiers and chief Officers adhere to JUGURTHA. It ſoon comes to a Battle; *Adherbal* is defeated; and moſt of his Troops, after the Rout, liſt themſelves under the Banners of his Enemy. The ſtrongeſt Places open their Gates to the Conqueror. *Adherbal*, to ſave his Life, is forced to diſguiſe himſelf;

Jugurtha's *War againſt* Adherbal.

and

and that Prince, after having wander'd ſome time about his own Dominions, like an unhappy Exile, at length eſcapes to the Territories of the Republick; from whence he repairs to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate.

The Preſence of this young Prince, driven out of his Kingdom, and the Death of his Brother, murder'd by the Uſurper's Order, raiſed a general Indignation, as well in the Senate, as among the People. The whole Talk at *Rome* was of the Neceſſity there was of ſending an Army immediately into *Africa*, to puniſh JUGURTHA. That Prince, who had his Emiſſaries at *Rome*, and who dreaded the Power and Reſentment of the Republick, preſently diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to juſtify his Conduct. He laded them with rich Preſents, and immenſe Sums of Money, with Orders to gain him Friends, and, as it were, to purchaſe whoever was to be ſold. The *Numidian* Ambaſſadors were no ſooner come to *Rome* but they ſcatter'd Money on all Sides. Few Senators could reſiſt them, moſt of the Grandees, being ſecretly gained themſelves, gain'd over others. The Corruption became general; thoſe Envoys found in the Avarice of the Nobility, a certain Refuge for their Maſter; and all the Deliberations of the Senate terminated in naming ten Commiſſioners, who had Orders to repair to *Africa*, to take Cognizance of what had been done there; and, if they thought convenient, to make a new Diviſion of *Micipſa*'s Empire between JUGURTHA and *Adherbal*.

Adherbal *at* Rome.

Jugurtha's *Agents at* Rome.

The Head of this Commiſſion was OPIMIUS, who had acquir'd great Credit and Eſteem in the Senate, and among the Grandees of *Rome*, ſince the Death of *Caius*, and the Ruin of his Party. He was no ſooner arriv'd in *Africa* with his Colleagues, but JUGURTHA, who relied much more upon his Money, than the Juſtice of his Cauſe, undertook to ſecure him by magnificent Preſents.

Opimius *bribed.*

That Magiſtrate, no leſs avaritious than cruel, ſold him his Faith and Honour: His Colleagues were not more incorruptible. The Bargain being made, JUGURTHA was found innocent. *Hiempſal* was made the Aggreſſor, and his Death repreſented as occaſioned by his own Raſhneſs. The Diviſion of *Micipſa*'s Dominions was afterwards made upon the very Plan propoſed by JUGURTHA himſelf; and the Commiſſioners, to the Scandal of the *Roman* Name, allotted him the ſtrongeſt Places, and the richeſt Provinces, as a Reward for his Guilt and Corruption.

Jugurtha *begins the War afreſh.*

That ambitious Prince, after the Departure of the Commiſſioners, having now nothing more to fear from the Part of *Rome*, reſolved to invade the Dominions of *Adherbal* by open Force. But as it was always neceſſary to have ſome little Appearance of Juſtice on his Side, he at firſt contented himſelf with making Inroads upon the Frontiers, in hopes to provoke the Reſentment of *Adherbal*, and to draw him by thoſe Inſults to uſe Reprizals, whence he might have a Pretence to puſh the War with full Vigor; nay, and to juſtify it at *Rome*, if there were Occaſion for ſo doing.

Adherbal, who knew himſelf to be his Inferior in Troops, and even in Capacity in the Art of War, choſe rather to wink at theſe little Injuries, than to expoſe himſelf to a declared and open War. JUGURTHA, after having haraſſed his Country for ſome Time, without being able to engage him to take up Arms, at length deſpiſes his Weakneſs; and without ſeeking any longer for any Pretences, he enters his Dominions at the Head of a powerful Army, beſieges and takes the principal Towns, and makes himſelf Maſter of moſt of the Provinces.

After this, there was no other Choice for *Adherbal* to make, but either to abandon his Kingdom a Second Time; or, notwithſtanding all Inequality of Forces, to reſolve to defend it generouſly Sword in

in Hand. That young Prince, by the Advice of his Miniſters, determines to repel Violence by Violence. He aſſembles his Troops, makes new Levies, and at length brings an Army into the Field; but more conſiderable for its Number than Courage. He then marches againſt the Enemy to ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms.

JUGURTHA, who had laid his Deſign, ſuffers *Adherbal* to encamp without Oppoſition. He even feigns to be diffident of his own Strength, in order to increaſe his Confidence. They ſpend ſome Days without coming to any Engagement; but by the Advantage of a very dark Night, *Jugurtha* ſilently advances to *Adherbal*'s Camp, attacks it on all Sides; carries the Intrenchments; and cuts in Pieces all that withſtand him. He ſeeks every where for *Adherbal*, whom it was his principal Deſire to deſtroy, in order to put an End to the War by one Blow. But that Prince had the Happineſs in his Misfortunes, to eſcape the Fury of his Enemy. He no ſooner beheld his Camp forced, but he threw himſelf into a Town called *Cirta*, the Capital of his Dominions, where he ſhut himſelf up with the broken Remains of his Army, and thence diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to implore anew the Aſſiſtance of the Republick.

Adherbal *flies into* Cirta.

JUGURTHA, who ſought his Death as the chief Fruit of his Victory, follows him; comes before *Cirta* with his whole Army; inveſts the Place; preſſes it cloſe; and ſwears he will never depart from before its Walls, till he is Maſter both of the Town, and of *Adherbal*'s Perſon. That unhappy Prince, ſeeing himſelf upon the Brink of falling into the Hands of a mercileſs Enemy, diſpatches Meſſenger after Meſſenger to *Rome*. The Senate, prepoſſeſs'd by JUGURTHA's Favourers, ſeems to doubt the Relation of theſe Ambaſſadors; and contents it ſelf with ſending three young *Romans* into *Africa*, to take an Account of what is doing

there; and in caſe of War, to order the two *Numidian* Princes to lay down their Arms. *Jugurtha*, at their Arrival, amuſes them firſt by continual Embaſſies; and then ſeduces and corrupts them by conſiderable Bribes, diſguiſed under the Name of Preſents. His Agents, in the Audience which they obtained, affirm, that *Adherbal* had both by open Force, and by baſe and ſecret Practices, attempted the Life of their Maſter, who had taken up Arms only upon the Neceſſity of a juſt Defence. The *Roman* Envoys, ſatisfy'd with theſe Reaſons, which the *Numidian*'s Money had render'd juſt, returned to *Rome*, while *Jugurtha* puſhed on the Siege with freſh Vigor.

Adherbal writes to the Senate.

Adherbal, driven to Extremity, writes again to the Senate, and conjures the *Romans*, by the Services of *Maſſiniſſa*, his Grandfather, to ſave at leaſt his Life. *Diſpoſe as you pleaſe of the Kingdom of Numidia*, ſays that weak Prince to them in his Letter; *but ſuffer me not to fall into the Hands of a Tyrant, and of the Murderer of my Family.*

The honeſt Part of the Senate, and thoſe who had not been corrupted by JUGURTHA's Money, were of Opinion, that they ought not a Moment longer to defer ſending an Army into *Africa*, to raiſe the Siege of *Cirta*, and to puniſh JUGURTHA for not having paid Obedience to the Senate's firſt Orders. But his Friends, by beſtirring themſelves in his behalf, hinder'd this Advice from being received, upon Pretence that ſuch an Armament would put them to a needleſs Charge. They only propoſed to ſend new Commiſſioners to *Africa*, to decide the Differences between the two Kings; and this laſt Advice prevailed above the Honour and Glory of the Republick. *Æmilius Scaurus* was placed at the Head of this Commiſſion. He was Prince of the Senate, that is to ſay, the Man whom the Cenſor, when he publickly read over the Liſt of the Senators, named firſt; which

Prince of the Senate: what it was.

depended upon the Choice of that Inſpector of Manners. That honourable Title was uſually never beſtowed but upon ſome old Senator, who had already been honoured with the Conſulate or Cenſorſhip, and he enjoyed that Dignity and Preeminence as long as he lived.

Scaurus, illuſtrious in his Birth, a great Captain, and an able Magiſtrate, but equally ambitious and covetous, had till now concealed thoſe Faults under the Appearance of the contrary Virtues. Though Avarice was his ruling Paſſion, he had refuſed the Bribes offer'd him by *Jugurtha*'s Agents, becauſe they diſtributed them too publickly. This cunning Behaviour, his Age, his Dignity, his Services, made him the Perſon that was named for the Head of this Commiſſion. He immediately croſſed over into *Africa* with his Colleagues, and landed at *Utica*; from whence he ſent *Jugurtha* an Account of his Commiſſion, with the Senate's Orders to raiſe the Siege from before *Cirta* without Delay. *Avarice of Scaurus.*

JUGURTHA leaves his Troops at the Siege, and comes to the Commiſſioners. He proteſts, that nothing is more ſacred to him than the Orders of the Senate; but at the ſame time repreſents, that *Adherbal* had endeavoured to deſtroy him; that he attacked him at the Head of an Army; that for his Part, he took up Arms only to defend his Life and Dominions; that the *Romans* were too juſt to forbid him to do what the Law of Nature allowed to every Man; or to tie his Hands when he was attacked by his Enemy. It was with ſuch like Allegations, or rather with great Sums of Money, but privately diſperſed, that the faithleſs *Numidian* found a Way to elude the Effect of that Commiſſion. *Scaurus* and his Colleagues were not aſhamed to return to *Rome*, without having obtained any Thing in the behalf of *Adherbal*. The *Numidian* having got clear of the only Obſtacle

that he feared, returns to the Siege, puſhes it vigorouſly, and at length reduces *Adherbal*, rather by Famine than by Sword, to put himſelf into his Hands. That unfortunate Prince demanded no other Condition but the Preſervation of his Life, and for the reſt, referred himſelf to the Judgment of the Senate.

JUGURTHA promiſed any Thing. He was received then into the Place; but as ſoon as ever he ſaw it in his Power, he ſlaughtered the *Numidian* Part of the Garriſon. He ſpared only the *Italians*, probably out of reſpect to the Republick; but as to *Adherbal*, he put him to Death with the moſt cruel Tortures. This new Murder being known at *Rome*, and the ſcandalous Prevarication of the Commiſſioners, raiſe a general Indignation. The People eſpecially cried loudly in their Aſſemblies, that they had ſold to that *Barbarian* the Blood of his Brother. The Senate fearing Impunity might at length provoke the People to a Sedition, decreed, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of JUGURTHA's Party, that *L. Beſtia Calpurnius*, who was then Conſul, ſhould go over to *Africa*, at the Head of an Army, to reduce JUGURTHA to Obedience. *Calpurnius* had Valour, and a great deal of Experience. But theſe noble Qualities were tarniſhed by a ſordid Avarice; he ſeemed to make War merely as a Trade, and only to get Money. He looked upon this *African* Expedition as a glorious Harveſt; and no Methods of enriching himſelf were in his Mind ſhameful.

Adherbal *put to Death.* *Year of* Rome, 641. Flor. l. 3. c. 1. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 15.

Avarice of Calpurnius.

But as he was not ignorant that he had the *Roman* People to deal with, and *Tribunes* who might one Day call him to a ſevere Account for his Conduct, he had the Precaution to engage *Scaurus*, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable Senators in this Expedition. He demanded them for his Lieutenants, under Pretence that he ſtood in need of Perſons ſo conſummate in the Art of War; but at the bottom,

bottom, his only Deſign was to aſſociate them in his Extortions and Plunderings, and to ſhelter himſelf under their Names and Credit againſt all Inquiry.

Nevertheleſs, it was not without great Surprize and Uneaſineſs, that *Jugurtha* heard the News of this Armament. He had always flattered himſelf, that *Adherbal*'s Murder would coſt him nothing but Money. He immediately diſpatched his Son to *Rome*, as a Pledge of his Fidelity and Submiſſion; and ſent with him two Ambaſſadors with part of his Treaſure, with which they had Orders to purchaſe him additional Protectors. But *Jugurtha*'s Crimes had made too much Noiſe, for the Senate to wink at them any longer. In the midſt of a Corruption ſo general, and ſuch as we have repreſented it, there ſtill remained a Dignity in what related to Publick Affairs. No body could ſo much as take his Part openly, without diſhonouring himſelf. Thus with unanimous Conſent, his Son, and his Ambaſſadors, were ordered to depart from *Italy* in ten Days, unleſs they were come to give up the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and the Perſon of JUGURTHA himſelf, to the Diſpoſal of the Republick. This Decree was ſignified to them, and they were obliged to return, without ſo much as having enter'd the Gates of *Rome*.

Jugurtha's Ambaſſadors driven out of Rome.

As ſoon as the Levies were ready, *Calpurnius* ordered them to embark at *Rhegium*. They croſſed from *Italy* into *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* into *Africa*. The Conſul was no ſooner arrived there, but he briſkly attacked JUGURTHA's Dominions. His Troops ſpread themſelves over the Country; they carry Fire and Sword wherever they come. He then forms Sieges, takes Towns, and makes Priſoners. To maintain his Reputation, or perhaps to raiſe his Price with the King of *Numidia*, he notly proſecutes the War, and diſperſes the Terror of his Arms on all Sides. The *Numidian* dreading

the Conſequences of this War, has Recourſe to his uſual Weapons. He finds a Way to ſpread great Sums to the very Tent of the *Roman* General. Private Emiſſaries ſtrike the Bargain: *Scaurus* enters into this ſcandalous Negotiation, and ſhares JUGURTHA's Money with *Calpurnius*. To blind the Publick they make a ſolemn Treaty. The King of *Numidia* ſeemingly ſubmits to the Orders of the Senate; he delivers up his Towns, his Horſes, his Elephants, and pays great Sums of Money. He ſeems to give himſelf wholly up to the Diſcretion of the *Romans*: He comes to the Camp without Guards, or any other Mark of his Dignity; but he had taken the Precaution to have Hoſtages given him for his ſafe Return. And after the General of the *Romans* had withdrawn his Army out of his Dominions, he again enter'd into Poſſeſſion of all his Places. They ſent him back for Money, his very Horſes and Elephants; and by means of this falſe Peace, he was left to a quiet Enjoyment of the Fruit of his Guilt, and of *Adherbal*'s Murder. This new Proſtitution was heard at *Rome* with no leſs Shame than Sorrow. Every body complained, that the Majeſty of the *Roman* People was violated.

Jugurtha *obtains a Peace.*

Liv. Epit. L. 64.

Year of Rome, 642.

Memmius, one of the Tribunes of the People, hence took Occaſion to fall upon the Senate. "Integrity, ſays he in a full Aſſembly, is quite loſt "in that Order; there is no Juſtice left among "them; Money is the Tyrant of *Rome*; and the "People have but too often found, that the Grandees and Nobles have no other Deity. They "make a publick Traffick of their Faith and Honour. The Glory and Intereſts of the State are "become Articles of Commerce. The Majeſty of "the Empire has been betrayed; the Republick "has been ſold in the Army, and in *Rome* itſelf. "*Opimius*, the Murderer of *Caius*, the Butcher "of three Thouſand of his Fellow-Citizens, that "Tyrant

Memmius's *Speech againſt the Senate.*

" Tyrant of his Country, while his Hands were " yet ſoiled with the Blood of the People, and of " their Tribunes, has filled them with the Gold " and Silver of the perfidious JUGURTHA. *Cal-* " *purnius* and *Scaurus* are perhaps not more inno- " cent. We are told, that the *Numidian* has " yielded himſelf up to the Republick; that he has " delivered up his Places, his Troops, and his " Elephants. Convince us of the Truth of this " Affair; make *Jugurtha* come to *Rome*. If it " be true that he has ſubmitted indeed, he will " obey your Orders; and if he does not obey " them, you may eaſily judge that what they call " a Treaty, is nothing but a Colluſion between " that crafty Prince and our Generals; a Treaty " that has produced nothing but Impunity of his " Crimes to him, ſcandalous Riches to thoſe who " were intruſted with the Senate's Commiſſion, " and an eternal Diſhonour to the Republick.

This Diſcourſe ſtirs up the publick Animoſity to the higheſt Degree. *Opimius* is ſummoned before the Aſſembly of the People. He undergoes his Trial, and is baniſhed from *Rome* by a ſolemn Decree. The Memory of his Cruelties, ſays *Velleius Paterculus*, was ſo ſtrong, that not one *Plebeian* had Compaſſion on his Misfortune; and he was obliged, adds *Plutarch*, to paſs his old Age in the Diſhonour and Shame which he had drawn upon himſelf by his Avarice and Corruption. Opimius baniſh'd.

Caſus, who was now Prætor, by Virtue of the ſame Decree of the People, went over to *Africa*, to bring JUGURTHA to *Rome*. He gave him for his Safeguard the publick Faith. But that Prince placed more Confidence in his Money; and he was no ſooner arrived, but he gained by rich Preſents a Tribune of the People named *Bæbius:* He then preſented himſelf before the Aſſembly. *Memmius* reproached him with his Ingratitude to the Family of *Miciſſa*; his exceſſive Ambition; Jugurtha at Rome.

his

his Cruelty; the Murder of his two adopted Brothers; his Diſobedience to the Orders of the Senate, and his private Intelligence with thoſe who carried them; which was yet more criminal and more odious to the Republick.

The Tribune added, that though the People were not unacquainted with the Names of his Accompliçes, and the Prices of their Proſtitution, yet they would be informed of them from his own Mouth. That he might hope for favour from the Faith and Clemency of the *Romans*, if he ſpoke Truth; but that if he concealed or diſguiſed it, he ruined himſelf irrecoverably: And hereupon he calls upon him to anſwer, Article by Article, to the ſeveral Heads of the Accuſation, which he had not prepared ſo much againſt him, as againſt the Senators, and the Deputies from the Senate, who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by his Money.

But *Bæbius* interpoſing to the Aſſiſtance of JUGURTHA, without alledging any Reaſon, forbad him to make Anſwer. Every body is ſurpriz'd at the Impudence of the Tribune. Nevertheleſs he obſtinately perſiſts in his Oppoſition, and the People betray'd by one of their own Magiſtrates, are forced to break up the Aſſembly, without having received the leaſt Information. Juſtly provoked at this Colluſion, and at *Bæbius*'s Oppoſition, they look upon it as the Effect of freſh Bribery, and talk of no leſs than ſeizing the King of *Numidia*, and of giving his Crown to another Grandſon of *Maſſiniſſa*, who fearing *Jugurtha*'s Cruelty, had upon *Adherbal*'s Death taken Refuge at *Rome*.

JUGURTHA, alarm'd at theſe Reports, finds out Ruffians that eaſe him of this Rival. But one of the Murderers being taken, the treacherous *African*, convicted of ſo foul a Crime by the Depoſitions of that Villain, and perhaps not having Mo-

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new enough left to be innocent, receives the Senate's Orders to depart immediately from *Rome*. He ſets out directly, probably for fear of being ſtopped. It is ſaid, that being come out of the Gates of *Rome*, he look'd back upon them, and cried out; *O mercenary City, thou wouldſt quickly be enſlaved, if a Merchant were found but rich enough to buy thee!*

As the Prince came to *Rome* upon the publick Faith, he was ſuffered to return quietly into his Dominions. But he was ſoon followed by the Conſul *Albinus*, who had Orders to make vigorous War upon him, unleſs he delivered his Perſon and Kingdom up to the Diſpoſal of the *Roman* People. *Albinus* being arrived in *Africa*, began to proſecute the War with good Succeſs; and he would gladly have finiſhed it before the Expiration of his Conſulate. JUGURTHA, on the contrary, whoſe only Hope was in the change of Generals, and who expected every Thing from the Advantage of Time, thought of nothing but how to amuſe the Conſul, and to draw Things out into Length. At one Time he would promiſe to deliver himſelf; at another, he would declare that he would ſooner quit his Life than his Crown. Now he would fly before the *Romans*, and preſently afterwards come and attack them in their very Camp. He then would ſend Meſſengers and Envoys to propoſe Treaties: Every Day brought forth ſome new Propoſal. The Conſul perplexed in this Abyſs of Negotiations, in which he cou'd ſee no Bottom, could not be ſaid to make either War or Peace. And the Time of the *Comitia* being come, he was obliged to leave *Africa*, and to repair to *Rome*, to preſide in the Election of new Conſuls; and he departed, after having given the Command of the Army to *Aulus*, his Lieutenant and Brother.

Fear of Rome, 643.

Vigorous War is made on him.

This was the greateſt Advantage JUGURTHA could wiſh for. He had now to deal with a Captain

tain without Valour or Military Knowledge, and whoſe only Qualification was being the General's Brother. A great Preſumption blinded him from ſeeing his own Incapacity; and a ſordid Avarice made him make as many Faults as Enterprizes.

Suthul *beſieg'd.*

In the very Depth of Winter he drew his Troops out of their Quarters to beſiege *Suthul*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Numidia*, where JUGURTHA kept part of his Treaſures. This was a Lure that drew him; but the Prey was included in a Caſtle, ſituated upon the Brow of a Hill, and ſurrounded by Marſhes, which the Rains, and the Snows being melted, had made impracticable.

Aulus, blinded by his Avarice, ventures nevertheleſs to beſiege it. JUGURTHA, overjoyed to ſee him employ himſelf in ſo difficult an Undertaking, cauſed divers Propoſals to be made to him, as if he had dreaded the Succeſs of his Arms. To keep up his Preſumption, he from time to time ſent Deputies to him to beg Peace, in Terms as ſubmiſſive, as if he had been already Maſter of all *Numidia*. He neglected not however to advance with his Army, as if he meant to endeavour at throwing Succours into the Place: But he had inſtructed his Officers to affect a Countenance full of Diffidence.

The Romans *are defeated.*

Aulus, who flattered himſelf that he had ſpread Terror among the *Numidians*, marches againſt them as to a ſure Victory. JUGURTHA, to encourage him in his Confidence, and continue him in his Error, feigns to betake himſelf to flight. His Troops retire in a precipitate manner. The *Roman* General purſues them warmly; and all his Fear is, leſt JUGURTHA ſhould eſcape him. But the crafty *Numidian*, who knew the Country, draws and leads him inſenſibly into narrow Paſſes, all whoſe Avenues he had before ſecured, and *Aulus* finds himſelf taken and conquered, in a manner, before he had ſeen the Enemy.

Diſtruſt

Diſtruſt and Terror run through his Troops. The *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in Front and Rear. They ſhower upon them a Storm of Arrows. Some are ſlain; others ſeek a Paſſage and Means to fly. But whatever Way they turn themſelves, they meet the Enemy, and Death. At length the *Roman* General, with his principal Officers, gains the Top of a Mountain, where *Jugurtha*, who was ſure he cou'd not eſcape him, ſuffers him to ſpend the Night. The Day diſcovers his Defeat in its full Extent. He ſees one Part of his Troops cut to Pieces, and the other beſieged by a Victorious Enemy, who is Maſter of all the Country. There was a Neceſſity of coming to a Capitulation. JUGURTHA pretends, that he will not make uſe of all his Advantages. He grants the *Romans* Life and Liberty, but upon Condition that they ſhould paſs under the Yoke; an ignominious Ceremony, by which the Conquerors affixed an eternal Shame to the Defeat of the Vanquiſhed. He exacts beſides from the General and the principal Officers, a ſolemn Promiſe that the *Romans* ſhall never diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Numidia*. *Aulus*, no leſs abject than preſumptuous, ſubſcribes to every Thing; and a *Roman* is ſeen to be in more fear of Death, than of the loſs of his Honour.

Jugurtha makes the Romans paſs under the Yoke.

The Senate was no ſooner informed of ſo ſhameful a Treaty, but they declared it void. They recalled *Aulus*; and *Metellus*, the Conſul elect, was intruſted with the Proſecution of the *Numidian* War. He was a Senator of one of the beſt Families in *Rome*, a great Captain, a good Man, of Virtue and Probity univerſally acknowledged; one, who though he was of the contrary Party to that of the People, was as agreeable to them, as to the *Patricians* themſelves, whoſe Glory and greateſt Support he was.

Metellus is ſent againſt Jugurtha.

The

The *Romans* knowing his great Qualities, and particularly that he was incorruptible, no longer made the least Doubt of the Defeat of *Jugurtha*, who had hitherto maintained himself by nothing but Artifices, and the Avarice of the Leaders that had been sent against him. *Metellus* assembles his Troops, makes new Levies, lays up Magazines of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, and sets out for *Numidia*, accompanied by *Caius Marius*, whom the People had chosen for one of his Lieutenants.

Year of Rome, 644.

Marius's *Character.*

Marius was born in a Village near *Arpinum*, of poor Parents, who earned their Livelihood by the Labour of their Hands. He had been brought up in rustick Employments, and his Manners were as fierce as his Face was terrible; he was a Man of a great Bulk; of extraordinary Strength of Body; Couragious, and a Soldier before he ever bore Arms. He entered betimes into the Army, and distinguished himself therein by Actions of a very extraordinary Valour, and above all, by an exact Practice of the Military Discipline. He fought in all Occasions, Dangers worthy of his Courage; and the longest Marches, and greatest Fatigues of War, were nothing to a Man brought up in a hard way of Living. There was observed in all his Conduct, an extreme Averseness to Pleasures: And after his Advancement, he seemed to be sensible to nothing but Ambition and Revenge, Passions, which cost the Republick so much Blood. He went through all the Degrees in the Army, and every Step he rose, was in reward for some Action, by which he had signalized himself. When he asked of the People the Office of Tribune in a Legion, most of his Fellow-Citizens did not know his Face; but his Name was unknown to no Body; and by means of a Reputation he well established, he carried that Employment from several *Patricians*, that were his Competitors. *Metellus*, who

who was ſo good a Judge of Valour, afterwards promoted him to the chief Poſts in the Army, and by his Protection he had attained even the Dignity of Tribune of the People. It was now that he began to diſcover his Ambition, and the violent Hatred which he bore to the Party of the Nobles. He was inceſſantly declaiming againſt the Luxury of the Senators; and though he was not eloquent, he was daily repreſenting to the People, with a ſtrong thundring Voice, what a Shame it was to them that they durſt never intruſt the Command of the Armies, and the chief Dignities of the State, to any but *Patricians*: That thoſe covetous and ambitious Men had made them almoſt a Patrimony to themſelves; that by means of their great Credit and Influence, they handed them down from one to another, and that while they were inveſted with them, they practiſed all manner of Extortions with Impunity. Marius *Tribune of the People.*

MARIUS, to break their Cabals, and prevent their Methods of promoting each other, propoſed a new Law, and a new way of giving the Suffrages, in the Election of the *Curule* Magiſtrates.

Cotta, who was then Conſul, and who ſaw into his Deſigns, oppoſed the Publication of the Law, and the new Tribune was even called before the Senate to anſwer for his Conduct. *Marius* appeared, and inſtead of being daunted, as a Man of ſuch low Birth, and ſo unexperienced in Affairs, might have been expected to be, he boldly threatned the Conſul, that he wou'd cauſe him to be ſeized, if he perſiſted in his Oppoſition. He then turned towards *Metellus*, who hitherto had been his Patron, as it were to aſk him to declare in his Favour. But *Metellus* having publickly diſapproved his Conduct, MARIUS, without any Reſpect for a Senator, to whom he was obliged for his Fortune, immediately commanded his Officers to ſeize him: And he had been carried to Priſon with

Cotta, if that Conſul had not forborn his Oppoſition. MARIUS went directly from the Senate to the Aſſembly of the People, where he got his Law confirmed. The People, charmed with his Reſoluteneſs, gave him extravagant Praiſes, and afterwards appointed him to go into *Numidia*, in Quality of *Metellus*'s Lieutenant. That General, who preferred the good of his Country to any private Reſentment, employed him with all the Confidence that his Valour and Capacity deſerved. His Confidence was not miſplac'd, and MARIUS was ever after looked upon as the ſureſt Inſtrument of his Victories. *Metellus*, being arrived in *Africa*, made it his firſt Buſineſs to reſtore the Military Diſcipline among the Troops, which *Aulus* delivered over to him; he then marched againſt *Jugurtha*, gain'd two Victories over that Prince, took his chief Towns from him; and after having purſued him from Province to Province, at length drove him to the very Extremity of his Dominions. *Jugurtha*, having now neither Troops to fight *Metellus*, nor a Place of Refuge left, deſired to capitulate, and offered to ſubmit to all the Conditions that the *Roman* General ſhou'd think fit to preſcribe to him. *Metellus* firſt ordered him to pay two Hundred Thouſand Pound Weight of Silver for the Charge of the War; to deliver up all his Elephants, and a certain Quantity of Arms and Horſes; which he executed punctually. The Conſul then demanded that he ſhou'd yield up the Deſerters. JUGURTHA obeyed in this alſo, and gave up thoſe that he cou'd lay Hands on. But when, laſtly, he was ordered to repair himſelf to *Vidium*, there to receive further Directions, then he began to heſitate, and ſpent ſeveral Days, without being able to come to any Reſolution. The Remembrance of his Crimes; the Apprehenſions that they intended to revenge the Death of the two Princes *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*; the Charms of

Marius *made Lieutenant to* Metellus.

Val. Max. L. 2. c. 7. Front. Stratag. L. 4. c. 1. Saluſt. Fl. L. 3. c. 1. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 15.

Jugurtha *defeated by* Metellus.

of Sovereignty, and the Horror there was in the Thought of falling from a Throne into Servitude, drew him to tempt once more the Fate of War; and though he was ſtripped of his chief Forces, he thought he had ſtill enough remaining to lengthen out the War, or at leaſt to keep off his Deſtruction for ſome little Time. Thus he breaks off the Negotiation; gathers together new Troops; fortifies ſome little Places that were ſtill in his Power at the Extremity of his Kingdom, and endeavours to ſurprize thoſe which the *Romans* had made themſelves Maſters of.

Metellus had put a Garriſon into *Vacca*, one of the largeſt and richeſt Cities of *Numidia*, and had given the Government of it to *Turpilius Silanus*, a Friend and Hoſt, but no *Roman* Citizen. *Turpilius* a worthy Man, free from all Pride and Avarice, forgot no Methods to tame thoſe *Barbarians*, and to gain their Affections by the Mildneſs of his Government. All the Inhabitants were equally charmed with his Juſtice and Moderation; but the Love of their Country, ſo natural to all Men, Fidelity to their Sovereign, and Averſion to a Foreign Yoke, prevailed above the Eſteem they had for *Turpilius*. The Chief of the City ſuffered themſelves to be gained by *Jugurtha*; they afterwards take the Opportunity of a publick Feſtival, to invite the Officers to feaſt at their Houſes: Every Man ſtabs his Gueſt; and by the means of this Tumult *Jugurtha* enters the City, and cuts the *Roman* Garriſon to Pieces. *Turpilius* alone eſcaped this Maſſacre, through the Gratitude of the Inhabitants; who begged his Life of *Jugurtha*, and afterwards conducted him to the very Camp of the *Romans*, where he gave an Account of this unhappy Accident. *A Maſſacre in* Vacca.

Though *Metellus* was convinced that he was rather unfortunate than guilty, he cou'd not help cauſing him to be impriſoned. He was immediately

diately had before the Council of War. *Marius*, to spite his General, sets himself up for the Accuser of *Turpilius*; he charges him with having sold the Town, and prosecutes this Affair so warmly, that he gets him condemned to Death. It was not till after *Metellus* had retaken *Vacca*, that *Turpilius*'s Innocence, and the Treachery of the Inhabitants was made plain. Every Body pitied him: The Friends of the *Roman* General bewailed with him the unfortunate End of a Man whom he had thought worthy of his Friendship. There was none but MARIUS who, seeking to make himself considerable by a declared Hate against his General, rejoyced publickly at the Death of *Turpilius*; and he insolently boasted, that he had found Means to torment *Metellus* with perpetual Remorse, and an avenging Fury, which wou'd be continually requiring of him the innocent Blood of his Host and *Friend*. *Marius*, puft up with Ambition, affected this publick Hatred to one of the chief *Patricians* in the Senate, only to gain himself Credit with the opposite Party. He had no sooner attained to be the Consul's Lieutenant, but he aspired to his Place; and in order to arrive at it, he omitted nothing that might gain him a great Reputation. He was in all Undertakings: He was for heading all Parties of Troops: And as well in Councils, as in Battles and Sieges, no body gave more prudent Advice, or fought with more Courage and Valour. He was at the same Time admir'd for that Temperance and Frugality, from which he never departed. His Habit and Diet were the same as the meaner Soldier's: Though a General Officer, he eat of the same Bread that was distributed to the meanest in the Army; lay upon the Ground, or some coarse Mattress; and was the first in all Labours, whether to open a Trench, or fortify the Camp.

Turpilius, tho' innocent, is condemn'd to die.

Marius's insolent Conduct.

Mean

Mean while, as the time of the Election of Conſuls came on, and as he openly aſpired to that great Dignity; he cauſes it to be reported at *Rome* by his Emiſſaries, that *Metellus* prolonged the War, only to continue himſelf in his Power and Command: That that *Patrician*, proud of his noble Birth, had more Oſtentation than real Merit: That his natural Slowneſs being increaſed by Age, gave Opportunity to an active and vigilant Enemy to traverſe his Marches: That they would never ſee an End of this War, unleſs they changed their General: And that for his Part, if they gave him but half the Troops that *Metellus* had in his Army, he would undertake in one ſingle Campaign, to bring JUGURTHA to *Rome*, dead or alive. The Tribunes of the People, overjoy'd to find a Man of ſuch Merit to ſet up in the Election againſt the *Patricians* that pretended to the Conſulate, make Intereſt in his Favour. The Heads of the Tribes are eaſily gained: They make ſure of the greateſt Number of Voices, and loudly boaſt in *Rome*, That in ſpite of all the Intereſt and Power of the Great, the Conſulate in this Election ſhould go out of the Order of the *Patricians*. MARIUS inform'd of this favourable Inclination towards him in the People, deſires his Diſcharge of *Metellus*, that he might go in Perſon, according to the Law, to demand that Dignity; which was never conferr'd upon the abſent. *Metellus* was ſurprized, and indeed fill'd with Indignation, that a Man of ſo low an Extract ſhould make ſuch high Pretenſions: And though that General was full of Honour, and deſerved his great Reputation; *Saluſt* tells us, he was not quite free from that Pride which is almoſt inſeparable from Noble Birth. It was in this Spirit that he anſwer'd MARIUS with a kind of Raillery, mix'd with Contempt: *That he adviſ'd him to defer putting up for the Conſulſhip, till young* Metellus *his Son was old enough to be his Colleague.*

Marius canvaſſes for the Conſulate.

This Son of *Metellus* was not yet twenty Years old, and actually ſerved at that time in his Father's Army. Every body knows, that in the ordinary Courſe, a Man was to be at leaſt forty three Years old, to attain the Conſulſhip. MARIUS, without ſeeming offended at ſo ſharp an Anſwer, again ſollicits his Diſcharge; obtains it; and arrives at *Rome* before the Day of the *Comitia*. One of the Tribunes introduced him in the firſt Aſſembly. MARIUS, under the Pretence of giving the People an Account of the *Numidian* War, was not aſhamed, in order to exalt himſelf, to vilify the great Actions of his General. He aſcrib'd to himſelf the Honour of all Advantages; and according to his Account, *Metellus*, that great Captain, ſeem'd to have contributed nothing to the Victories, but his Name and Auſpices. He mix'd with all this Inſinuations full of Malice; That *Metellus* protracted the War either to continue himſelf longer in the Honour of the Command, or out of his natural Inactivity: That the timorous and uncertain manner in which he carried on this War, made him ſeem more like a Man that did not ſo much think of putting an End to it, and of conquering, as of not being vanquiſhed: That for his Part, who knew the Country, and was certainly more active and vigorous than *Metellus*; he would engage in one Campaign to take JUGURTHA, dead or alive, or to drive him out of *Numidia*, and all *Africa*. The People already prepoſſeſs'd in his Favour, and charmed with his Boldneſs, gave him the higheſt Praiſes; and MARIUS looked upon them as ſure Pledges of an approaching Conſulſhip. Not but that he ſaw great Obſtacles in his way, eſpecially from the Nobles, who could never conſent that a Man of ſuch low Birth ſhould fill the chief Dignity in the Republick. They would much more willingly have made him General of the Army in *Numidia*.

Blames Metellus.

Cic. Offic. L. 3.

midia. But as thoſe two Employments were inſeparable, the Command of the Armies always belonging to the Conſuls; MARIUS was at length made Conſul, that he might be General of the *Numidian* Army. Marius *Conſul.*

The new Conſul, intoxicated with his Greatneſs, gave free Reins to the Hatred he had always bore to the Body of the Nobility. He inſulted them in all his Diſcourſes; and boaſted, That the Dignity he had obtained, was a Victory which the People had won over the Great, by means of his Courage and Valour. *Year of* Rome, 646. Marius *inſults the Nobility.*

" They deſpiſe my Birth, " ſaid he, and I deſpiſe their Pride and Effemina- " cy. They upbraid me with my Poverty, ſo " much eſteem'd among our Anceſtors; and I, " much more juſtly, upbraid them with their " Avarice; to which we daily ſee them ſacrifice " their Faith, their Honour, the Glory and In- " tereſt of the Republick. They envy the Dig- " nity, to which the Votes of the People, and of " all good Men, have rais'd me. Why do they " not alſo envy me my Labours in War, the Dan- " gers to which I have ſo often expos'd my ſelf, " and the Wounds that I have received in Battle? " I am arriv'd at the Command no otherwiſe, " than by a long Courſe of Obedience, and they " expect to command, without ever having o- " bey'd, and without any other Merit beſides that " of their Birth. If they commit Faults, if they " ſuffer themſelves by their Negligence to be ſur- " prized by the Enemy; the Credit, the Cabals " of their Relations, their Swarm of Creatures, " cover all. The Loſſes they occaſion are con- " niv'd at and diſguiſed, or thrown upon Subal- " tern Officers. The Truth never pierces the " Cloud formed by the Authority of the Great, " and the Flattery of their Slaves. For my Part, " I never had any of theſe Aids: I have no Rela- " tions in high Poſts: I cannot produce the Ima-

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" ges, the Conſulſhips, and Triumphs of my A-
" ceſtors. My whole Reliance is upon my ſelf;
" and I have no Support but my Courage. I
" even confeſs, that the Talent of Elocution is
" what I am no Maſter of: I am ignorant of that
" dangerous Art, which enables a Man to cover
" with fine Words the Shame of Actions full of
" Baſeneſs. Educated almoſt from my Infancy in
" a Camp, and bred up in the Military Diſcipline,
" I have learnt nothing but how to make good
" Uſe of my Sword. There lies my whole Stu-
" dy; and this is the Inſtruction and Example
" which I ſhall give my Soldiers. It is by the
" Practice of theſe Leſſons, that we hope to put
" a ſpeedy End to the *Numidian* War. By taking
" the Command of the Army out of the Hands
" the Great, you have removed the chief Obſta-
" cle that lay in the way to Victory. It has been
" nothing but their Ignorance in the Military Art,
" their Preſumption, and eſpecially their ſcanda-
" lous Avariée, that have drawn out the War to
" ſuch a Length already.

Sets out for Africa.

MARIUS having added to the People's Confidence by this Diſcourſe, deſir'd of them new Recruits for the Legions; and that he might be allowed to take Auxiliary Troops of the Nations that were Subjects, or Allies of the Republick. He obtains as many Decrees and *Plebiſcita* as he aſks. The People, and eſpecially the meaner Sort, proud of having a Conſul of their own Order, run with the greateſt Eagerneſs to liſt themſelves under his Banners. All are for following him; they think the Victory certain under ſo great a General: And the new Soldier flatters himſelf, that he ſhall quickly return to his Country laden with Booty.

MARIUS receives indifferently into his Troops all that offer themſelves, even ſuch as were not worth what was preſcribed by the Laws to capa-

[illegible] a Man to be liſted in the *Roman* Militia but this Conſul, a Slave to Ambition, and who privately had formed the vaſteſt Deſigns, was not ſorry to bind to himſelf theſe Sort of People, without Houſe or Home, without Subſtance or Friends, and who could ſubſiſt only by his Protection. He then embarked with his new Levies, and ſoon arrived in *Africa*.

Metellus heard not without the greateſt Vexation that he muſt give Place to a Succeſſor, eſpecially at a time when the War ſeem'd almoſt concluded, and when he had nothing more to do, but to make himſelf Maſter of a few Places of ſmall Importance. It is ſaid, that this great and wiſe Man could not help ſhedding of Tears at the firſt News he heard of it. *Saluſt*, from whom I have taken moſt of theſe Facts, relates, that this Injuſtice, ſo intolerable to a General, would have given *Metellus* leſs Concern, if the Republick's Choice had fallen upon any but *Marius*, whom he always look'd upon as his Creature, and as an ungrateful Wretch, that had decried his Conduct only to raiſe himſelf upon the Ruins of his Reputation. As he could not bear the Thoughts of ſeeing a Man that was ſo hateful to him, he appointed *Rutilius*, one of his Lieutenants, to deliver over his Army to *Marius*; and then departed for *Rome*, where he very ſoon arrived.

His Return, and the Account he gave of the Succeſs of his Arms, the Towns he had taken, the Provinces he had conquer'd, and the Battles he had won; theſe quickly deſtroy'd and wiped off the ill Reports which *Marius* had raiſed againſt him. The Eſteem and Reſpect which the People had for that great Man, revived a-freſh. *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, that they with an unanimous Conſent, decreed him the Honour of the Triumph, with the Surname of *Numidicus*: And it was obſerved, ſays that Hiſtorian, that there was in *Rome* *He juſtifies himſelf.* *His Elogium.* L. 2. C. 2.

above twelve Magiſtrates, all at the ſame time of the ſame Family as *Metellus*, who, in leſs than twelve Years, had rais'd themſelves to the chief Dignities of the Republick; ſome to the Conſulate, others to the Cenſorſhip, and ſeveral that had added to theſe Dignities the Glory of a Triumph.

Sylla, *Quæſtor to* Marius *the General: What that Office was.*

MARIUS being landed upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, was ſoon after join'd by *Cornelius Sylla*, his Quæſtor; who brought him a ſtrong Body of Horſe, which he had rais'd among the *Latins*. The Quæſtors were the Treaſurers General of the Republick. They are thought to be as ancient as the Foundation of *Rome*; though ſome refer their Origin to the Conſuls, as we have already ſaid. There were two that always ſtay'd at *Rome*; and two others, and afterwards a greater Number were added, who uſually attended the Conſuls to the Army. It was neceſſary to have been at leaſt ten Years in the Service, to attain this Employment: And though the Quæſtors had no Juriſdiction in the City, they had particular Commands in the Army. And as every thing ſeems to depend upon thoſe who have the Adminiſtration of the Treaſure, ſeveral Conſulars were known to put up for that Poſt. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, after three Conſulſhips, thought it not beneath him to accept the Office of Quæſtor. *Cato* the Elder ſerved in it, after having been honour'd with a Triumph: And it was at length decreed by the *Lex Pompeia*, That for the future none ſhould be admitted into the Quæſtorſhip but Conſulars: Which ſhews what a Notion the Men moſt jealous of their Dignities and Birth have of the Advantage of being concern'd in the publick Monies.

Sylla, before this Law, obtained it by that time he was one and thirty Years old. It ſeems, ſays *Velleius Paterculus*, as if Deſtiny, by bringing *Sylla* and MARIUS together, had had an Inclination to unite thoſe two Men, and to prevent the Calamities

which their Diſcord afterwards brought upon the Republick. But ſince they are both going to act ſuch great Parts in this Hiſtory, it will be proper to give a more particular Knowledge of *Sylla*; eſpecially when we have already drawn the Character of *Marius*.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, a *Patrician*, and of one of the moſt illuſtrious Families in *Rome*, was well made, of a handſome Aſpect; his Air was noble, his Manners eaſy; ſeemingly full of Freedom, as if his whole Heart lay open to you; naturally inſinuating, perſuaſive, eloquent: He loved Pleaſure, but Glory more. His Duty took Place of every Thing: He could give himſelf up to Pleaſure, and tear himſelf from it with equal Eaſe. He ſtrove to pleaſe every Body; modeſt in his Speech, if he talked of himſelf; laviſh of Praiſes to others, and yet more ſo of Money. He lent it readily to thoſe that applied to him, and prevented thoſe that had Occaſion for it, and were afraid to aſk him. He never demanded it again; and it ſeemed as if he intended to buy the whole Army. Familiar above all with the common Soldiers, he would become one of them himſelf, aſſume their coarſe Manners, drink with them, rally them, and be rallied by them with Pleaſure. But when he was riſen from Table, always ſerious, active, diligent. He was a perfect *Proteus*, and could put on all theſe ſeveral Characters with the greateſt Eaſe; and his Virtues and Vices were equally concealed under the deepeſt Diſſimulation, which made him impenetrable even in his moſt ſecret Pleaſures, to the very Companions of his Debauches. Sal. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 9. Sylla's Character.

Such was *Sylla* when he came to *Africa*, and into *Marius*'s Army. He applied himſelf firſt to gain the Eſteem of the ableſt Soldiers, by his Diligence in all the Military Duties; whether the Army was to fight or to intrench, *Sylla* was every where. Plut. in Sylla. His Valour.

He

He ran to thoſe Parts where there was moſt Danger, with the ſame Readineſs that others retired from them. A noble Emulation made him ſue for the moſt dangerous Employments; and it was not long before he acquired the Eſteem of the General, and of the Soldiers in an equal Degree. *Marius* afterwards even gave him a ſeparate Body of Troops, which he commanded in Chief. I ſhall enter into the Particulars of this War, no further than is neceſſary for the Connection of the ſeveral Parts of my Story. It is ſufficient to take Notice, that before MARIUS's Arrival in *Africa*, *Jugurtha*, driven by *Metellus* to the Extremity of his Dominions, had got a neighbouring King, named *Bocchus*, for his Protector and Ally. Theſe two Princes MARIUS had to deal with. He took *Capſa*, a great City, and very populous; and afterwards made himſelf Maſter of that Fort, before which *Aulus Albinus* had received his Defeat. The Armies quickly came to a Battle. The two Kings, by a private March, ſurprize the *Romans*; attack them in the Night; fill their Troops with Terror; make a great Slaughter; and muſt have gained a compleat Victory, if the Obſcurity had not hinder'd them from knowing the Advantage they had gained, and improving it. MARIUS quickly had his Revenge; and almoſt before the News came to *Rome* of the Loſs he had received in the firſt Action, Advice came that he had defeated the two Kings in two deciſive Battles, and diſabled them both from keeping the Field.

Marius *defeats* Jugurtha *and* Bocchus.

Oroſ. l. 5. c. 15.

Year of Rome, 646.

Plut. in Mar. Sal. Bell. Jugur. vide Oroſ. Eutr. Flo.

Bocchus having in theſe two Battles felt the Valour and Fortune of the *Romans*, did not think fit to hazard his own Crown to defend that of his Ally; he reſolved to make his Peace, and ſent Ambaſſadors quite to *Rome* to ſue for it.

Bocchus *ſues for Peace.*

Theſe Ambaſſadors, being admitted into the Senate, ſaid, That the King, their Maſter, had been abuſed by the Artifices of JUGURTHA; that he

repented his Engagement with him, and desired the Alliance and Friendship of the *Romans*. Answer was made him in these Terms:

"The Senate and *Roman* People are not used "to forget either Services or Injuries; however, "since *Bocchus* repents of his Fault, they grant "him their Pardon. As to Peace and Alliance, "he shall obtain them when he has deserved them "by his Actions." *Bocchus*, perplexed with this Answer, secretly intreated MARIUS to send him his Quæstor. *Sylla* repair'd to him. Several Ways were proposed for establishing a Peace: "You have no other (says *Sylla* to *Bocchus*) but to "deliver JUGURTHA to us. By this you will "make Amends for the Imprudence and Mischief "of your first Engagement; and this must be "the Price of our Alliance and Friendship." *Bocchus* seemed shocked at such a Proposal, and represented to *Sylla*, that such a Piece of Treachery as this would affix an everlasting Shame to his Memory. This was the Subject of several Conferences between that King and the *Roman* Quæstor. But *Sylla*, who was pressing and eloquent, so often repeated and urged it so strongly upon him, that nothing but an extraordinary Piece of Service could expiate the Injustice he had been guilty of in declaring against the *Romans*, that he at length determined to yield up JUGURTHA. That Prince was betray'd, and seiz'd in a pretended Conference which *Bocchus* desir'd of him; he was laden with Chains, and given up to *Sylla*, who deliver'd him into the Hands of *Marius*, his General; and by the Captivity of this unhappy Prince, the *Numidian* War was entirely concluded.

Year of Rome, 647.

Jugurtha *deliver'd up by* Bocchus.

This good News could not have come to *Rome* at a more lucky Time. They had just heard, that a prodigious Multitude of *Barbarians* out of the *North* were advancing towards the *South*, and threatned all *Italy*. It was resolved to send against them

MARIUS,

Year of Rome, 649.

MARIUS, who was now juſt in the Height of that Favour and Applauſe which a new Victory gives a General. He was named Conſul the ſecond time, though the Laws would not allow a Man that was abſent to be choſen Conſul, nay, and required ten Years Interval between two Conſulſhips. To theſe very remarkable Favours, the People added the Government of *Gallia Narboneuſis*, and at the ſame time decreed him the Honours of the Triumph. JUGURTHA, laden with Chains, was the principal Ornament of it. He was dragged like a Slave at the Wheels of *Marius*'s Chariot. That Prince, after this Ceremony, was led to Priſon, where he was condemned to be ſtarv'd to Death. The Executioner tore off his Royal Robe, ſtripped him of all his Clothes, and then puſhed him into a deep Dungeon, which was to be his Tomb. It is related, that as he went into it ſtark naked, he cried out, *O Hercules, how cold are thy Stoves!* Alluding to the Baths of that God, which were ſaid to be cold. That Prince ſtruggling with Hunger, continued ſix Days living; and a vain Deſire of prolonging his Life, ſerved as a Puniſhment to a King, who had always reckoned for nothing the Death of his neareſt Relations, and of the greateſt Men of his Court, whom he had ſacrificed to his Fortune and Ambition.

Marius again named to the Conſulſhip.

The End of the Ninth Book.

BOOK

BOOK X.

MARIUS *delivers* Gaul *and* Italy *from three Hundred Thouſand Barbarians, known by the Name of* Cimbri *and* Teutones, *who had already plunder'd and laid waſte a large Country, and defeated ſeveral* Roman *Generals: But envying* Metellus *his Reputation and Power, he meditates his Ruin. He unites with* Saturninus *and* Glaucia, *and prevails to have him Exiled. Thoſe two Men, the greateſt Profligates in the whole Commonwealth, are ſtoned and beaten to Death.* Metellus *is recall'd.* Sylla's *great Skill in the Art of War.* MARIUS *growing jealous of him, looks on him as his Enemy.* Rome *divides their Affections betwixt thoſe two Generals. Ready to tear each other to Pieces by a Civil War, the* Romans *reunite againſt ſeveral Nations of* Italy, *who had made a League to oblige the* Romans *by Force of Arms to grant them the Title and Privileges of* Roman *Citizens.* Sylla *is preferr'd to* MARIUS *in the Command againſt* Mithridates. *The fatal Conſequences of that Preference. Particular Account of the Civil War it occaſion'd. Death of* MARIUS.

GReat and uncommon were the Rejoicings which the People of *Rome* made on the Day that *Marius* triumph'd, not only on a publick Account, but becauſe the Conſulate of that *Plebeian* was of their own procuring; conſequently they look'd on themſelves as the Authors of his Victories, and Aſſociates in his Triumph. The *Tribunes* *Marius, and the People, elated with his Victories.*

bunes took thence continual Occaſions to inſult in their Speeches, the *Patricians* and all the Nobles. They haughtily aſk'd 'em, What Commander, what General from amongſt them, was comparable to that *Plebeian?* And if it was ſtill their opinion, that no body could pretend to Valour, Courage, or Skill in the Command of Armies, who did not derive his Origin from the Nobility? The *Patricians* and Nobles on the other hand, to leſſen MARIUS's Glory, gave out, that all the Honour of that War was due to *Metellus*; who after two compleat Battles gain'd, had drove *Jugurtha* to the moſt diſtant Parts of his Dominions; and that *Marius* might yet have been in *Africa*, if *Sylla*, a *Patrician*, had not made himſelf Maſter of that King's Perſon in *Numidia*. *Sylla* himſelf, yet more jealous of MARIUS's Glory, than the other had been of the Advantages gain'd by *Metellus*, cauſed the Hiſtory of that Event to be engrav'd on a Stone, to perpetuate the Memory thereof. On it was ſeen, in what manner *Bocchus* deliver'd up *Jugurtha* to him; and to teaze MARIUS yet more, he from that time uſed that Stone for his common Seal; a Circumſtance which in Hiſtory would ſeem of little Import, if the ſame had not given Birth to the Diviſions which afterwards happen'd betwixt thoſe two great Men; and in which the Senate and People ſo greatly intereſted themſelves.

Sylla's Seal.

But this Competition and Party Spirit were laid aſide at the firſt News of the Approach of thoſe *Barbarians* we juſt mention'd. More than three Hundred Thouſand Men, known by the Names of *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, iſſuing from *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*, now *Jutlandt*, had enter'd into a Confederacy to ſeek for Lands in a more temperate and warmer Climate than their own. Theſe *Barbarians*, attended with an innumerable Body of old Men, Women and Children, broke into *Gaul*, where they committed great Outrages. The *Cimbri* cut in

Irruption of the Teutones *and* Cimbri.

in Pieces the Army commanded by *M. Junius Silanus*, and defeated another Body, commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, Lieutenant of *Cn. Mallius*, [illegible]en Conſul. The like Misfortune befel that Con[illegible]nd *Q. Servilius Cepio*, who ſoon after loſt a[illegible]ve fourſcore Thouſand Men in two great Battles. Then thoſe *Barbarians* ſeparated, the *Teutones* remain'd in *Gaul*, from whence they made Preparation to paſs into *Italy*, and the *Cimbri* took their way into *Germany*. So many Loſſes, joined to the great Numbers and Fierceneſs of thoſe *Barbarians*, ſtruck a Terror into the *Romans*. Jealouſy gave way; the two Parties that divided *Rome* were united; and all, as with one Accord, made MARIUS chief Commander in the Expedition againſt their common Enemy. He was voted Conſul two Years together, which was his ſecond and third Conſulate; in which time he raiſed great Armies, and fortified the Straits and Paſſes through which the Enemy might penetrate into *Italy*. He return'd to *Rome*, to preſide at the Election of new Conſuls. There did he declare, that he did not pretend to that Dignity, ſince he had already enjoy'd it thrice, and would even decline it; if it was offer'd him. But thoſe who knew to what a Degree he was aſpiring, and ambitious, laugh'd at that ſham Modeſty; and eaſily penetrated into his Deſigns, when they obſerv'd what Part he made *Saturninus*, his Creature, and a Tribune, to act at the ſame time; who openly called him Knave and Traitor, for refuſing to ſerve his Country, animating the People to compel MARIUS by Force, to take upon him the Command of the Army.

Marius *ſent againſt the* Teutones.

Year of Rome, 650.

Plut. in Mario.

This Stratagem was too groſs not to be diſcern'd by a Nation ſo clear-ſighted as the *Romans* were. But as at that time they had no General of a ſuperior Capacity, and that *Metellus* was too aged to take upon him the Management of a War, wherein there would be occaſion for as much Acti-

vity

Year of Rome, 651.

vity as Courage; MARIUS was elected Conſul for the fourth time, and *Catulus Luctatius* was appointed his Colleague; a Man indeed unequal to him in the Art of War, but excelling him in Modeſty, Probity, and ſweet Behaviour.

The Teutones defeated. Plut. in Mario. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 16. Flor. l. 3. c. 3. Liv. Epit. lib. 68.

The two Conſuls divided the Legions between them. MARIUS with his Share marched againſt the *Teutones*, whom he met and defeated near *Aix* in *Provence*. Hiſtorians relate, that the Battle laſted two whole Days; that a Hundred and forty Thouſand of the *Teutones* were ſlain; and that by ſo general a Defeat, that *Barbarian* Nation was almoſt extinct. The *Cimbri*, more ſucceſsful at firſt, had paſs'd the *Alps*, and penetrated into the *Gallia Ciſalpina*. *Catulus* waited for them upon the Banks of the *Atheſis* (*Adige.*) But having no more than twenty Thouſand Men to oppoſe ſo powerful an Hoſt, a general Terror ſeiz'd the Hearts of his Army; many fled before the Approach of the Enemy; and the *Roman* General, to ſave the reſt, was forced to quit the Banks of the River, and to encamp in ſuch Defiles as he might not be forc'd from. MARIUS, in the Beginning of his fifth Conſulate, came to his Relief with a Victorious Army. The two Generals having join'd their Forces, gave Battle to the *Cimbri*, in the Plain of *Vercelli*. Thoſe *Barbarians* were defeated, and the *Romans* obtained ſo compleat a Victory, that, if Credit may be given to their Hiſtorians, an Hundred and twenty Thouſand of the *Cimbri* fell on the Field of Battle, beſides ſixty Thouſand that were taken Priſoners.

The Cimbri defeated. Plut. in Mario & Syll. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 16. Vell. Pat. l. 2.

Sixth Conſulate of Marius.

The two Conſuls jointly triumph'd, on account of theſe Victories; and MARIUS, inſatiable of Honours, put up for a ſixth Conſulate with as much Eagerneſs as he had for the firſt. It is even related, that he bought it by Preſents given underhand to the Heads of the Tribes, and thoſe who bore the greateſt Sway among the People; and that

that at the ſame time he made uſe of the like vile Means to get *Metellus* excluded, whoſe Virtues and Experience, join'd to the Wiſhes of all honeſt Men, loudly call'd him to the Government of the Commonwealth. To him they preferr'd *Valerius Flaccus*, who was leſs the Colleague than the Slave of MARIUS. This Man, ſo truly Great by his Valour and Services to his Country during the War, became its Tyrant during the Peace. Plut. in Mario.

In this exalted State of Glory, to which his Victories had rais'd him, he could not bear the Preſence of *Metellus*, becauſe he ſaw that his Virtues made him more admir'd than himſelf. Not ſatisfy'd with having diſappointed him of the Conſulſhip, he made uſe of the meaneſt and moſt unworthy Artifices to get him baniſh'd from *Rome*. To this Effect he leagued himſelf with two Senators, the one called *Glaucia*, the other *Saturninus*, both declared Enemies of *Metellus*, the moſt profligate Men in the whole Commonwealth, and whom that grave Senator would have expell'd the Senate during his Cenſorſhip, if he had not been oppos'd therein by his Colleague, with whom they had ſome Intereſt. Marius *perſecutes* Metellus. App. Alex. l. 1.

Theſe three Men united their Reſentments and Cabals. MARIUS was Conſul, *Glaucia* Prætor; and *Saturninus*, who had been once before a Tribune of the People, ſollicited for that Poſt a ſecond time, that he might uſe the Power annex'd to that Dignity, againſt *Metellus*. But on the Day of Election, *Nonius*, one of *Saturninus*'s Competitors, took Occaſion to deſcribe to the People in ſuch lively Colours, the various Crimes he was guilty of, that this People, in whom there was yet a Remnant of the ancient Probity of their Anceſtors, bluſh'd at their firſt Deſign of putting ſo wicked a Man at their Head. He did not get one ſingle Vote, and *Nonius* was choſen in his Stead. This Preference coſt him his Life. *Saturninus* caus'd Marius, Glaucia *and* Saturninus *unite their Reſentments*. Nonius *is ſtabb'd*.

caus'd him to be ſtabb'd at the breaking up of the Aſſembly; and *Glaucia*, with whom he had contriv'd this Murder, having called the People together again the next Morning early, his Adherents, in a riotous Manner, declared *Saturninus* elected Tribune, before any conſiderable Part of the People was yet arriv'd at the Place of Election.

Idem. Ibid.

Marius's *artful and fallacious Management againſt* Metellus.

Theſe three Men, now Maſters of the whole Adminiſtration, contriv'd inſtantly how to undo *Metellus*. To ſucceed therein, *Saturninus*, as Tribune of the People, renew'd the ancient Quarrel about the ſharing of Lands. But to give a new Life to a Faction almoſt extinct, he propos'd a new Object of their Animoſity. MARIUS and *Catulus*, by the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, having recover'd ſome Lands in the *Gallia Ciſalpina*, of which thoſe *Barbarians* had taken Poſſeſſion, he propoſed to ſhare them among the pooreſt Citizens that dwelt in the Country, moſt of them People without Houſe or Home, whom MARIUS had made uſe of in that War, and were entirely devoted to him. To this Propoſal he added a Clauſe, That, if the People approv'd of it, the Senate ſhould be oblig'd within five Days to paſs it into a Law; That every Senator ſhould be oblig'd to ſwear ſolemnly to it in the Temple of *Saturn*; and that whoever refus'd to take that Oath, ſhould be expell'd the Senate, and condemn'd to a Fine of twenty Talents. Then they notify'd the Day of Meeting. MARIUS ſent privately to all thoſe of his Party in the Country, deſiring them to come thither in as great Bodies as poſſibly they could; and they came accordingly from all Parts of *Italy*. *Saturninus* flatter'd himſelf, that by their numerous Appearance he would make the Law paſs. But the Citizens, who dwelt in *Rome*, jealous, and reſenting that the Inhabitants of the Country were preferr'd to them, made an open and ſtrong Oppoſition. This tumultuous

Meeting

Meeting divided into two Bodies. The Citizens finding themſelves the weakeſt, that the Aſſembly might be diſſolv'd, cried out, *That they heard it thunder*; which according to the Laws and Principles of their Religion, oblig'd 'em to ſuſpend, for that Day, all Deliberations and Affairs. But the Country People having amongſt them ſome veteran Soldiers, moſt of 'em Men of Mettle, diſregarding that ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, fell upon the Citizens with Stones and Sticks, drove them from the *Forum*, and then got the Law paſs'd.

MARIUS, who was ſecretly at the Bottom of all this, and the chief Manager of the Plot, call'd the Senate together, as being Conſul, to deliberate upon the Oath preſcrib'd by that Law, and which was now very haughtily demanded of every Senator. As he knew *Metellus* to be an upright Man, and firm in his Reſolutions, to draw him into the Snare, he feign'd, as if he deteſted ſo unjuſt a Law; which, he ſaid, could have no other Aim, than to revive the ancient Seditions. He added, that for himſelf, he ſhould never take an Oath ſo prejudicial to the Commonwealth. *Metellus*, as he had very well foreſeen, did not fail to declare himſelf of his Opinion; and he was ſeconded by the Votes of the whole Senate.

MARIUS having drawn ſuch a Declaration from a Man, whom he knew incapable of turning, called the Senate on the fifth Day, as preſcrib'd by that Law for taking the Oath, and then he pull'd off the Maſk. He ſaid, that he had very ſeriouſly reflected on that great Affair; that there would infallibly happen a very great Tumult, if they perſiſted to refuſe abſolutely the taking of the propoſed Oath; that every thing was to be fear'd from the Fury and Reſentment of that Multitude of unpoliſh'd and incens'd Men: But that to dazzle their Eyes, and to ſee 'em going out of *Rome* to their own Homes, he thought they might extri-

cate themſelves out of the preſent Difficulty by means of an Oath, conceiv'd in dark and equivocal Terms; and that it was his Opinion, an Oath to that Law ſhould be taken; but with this expreſs Proviſo, *If it was Law.* He added, That as thoſe Country People ſhould be return'd to their Habitations, it would be eaſy, in another leſs riotous Aſſembly, to demonſtrate to the People of the City, that the Propoſition of a Tribune, received only by Rioters, and in ſuch Circumſtances, as by Law and Religion made all things done on ſuch a Day, void, could not be look'd upon as Law.

The Hypocrite having thus varniſh'd over his Breach of Faith, goes from the Senate-Houſe, attended by his whole Party, directly to the Temple of *Saturn*, and there takes the Oath pure and ſimple, without the Reſtriction he propoſed himſelf. Thoſe of his Party did the ſame, and the greateſt Number of Senators, either through Corruption, or Fear of Baniſhment, follow'd his Example. *Metellus* alone, courageouſly perſiſted in his former Opinion: And it was chiefly upon his Firmneſs that his Enemies had built and grounded their Hopes of effecting his Ruin. *Saturninus*, appriz'd that he had not taken the Oath in the Time preſcrib'd by the Law, ſends a Meſſenger to expel him the Senate. But the other Tribunes of the People, who were not of that Cabal, and who rever'd the Virtue of *Metellus*, unanimouſly oppoſed and prevented the Affront deſigned to be put on that great Man.

Saturninus, incens'd to find a Stop put to his Deſigns, ſends for all thoſe Country People back again to *Rome*. He ſummons the Aſſembly, gets up into the *Roſtrum*, and after having inveighed ſtrongly againſt *Metellus*, he declares to all that populace, That they muſt never hope for their Shares of the Lands, nor the Execution of that Law concerning it, as long as *Metellus* ſhould abide in

Metellus *baniſh'd.*

2 Rome.

Rome. Upon the Remonſtrances of that ſeditious Tribune, the Aſſembly condemn'd *Metellus* to Baniſhment, if that very Day he refus'd to take the Oath enacted by that Law. The Nobility, whole Senate, and even the honeſteſt part of the People, offer'd to oppoſe this moſt unjuſt Decree of the Populace. Many out of Affection for the Perſon of *Metellus*, had even armed themſelves ſecretly under their long Robes, and Town Habits. But that wiſe Senator, who truly loved his Country, after having in a tender manner returned them Thanks for the Love they had expreſs'd for him, declar'd he would never ſuffer that a ſingle Drop of Blood ſhould be ſpilt on his Account. And it is ſaid, that after having reſolv'd to go into Baniſhment, he ſhould ſay to his intimate Friends, to juſtify himſelf on Account of that Reſolution; That either Peace and Quietneſs would be reſtor'd in the Commonwealth, in which Caſe he did not doubt of his being recall'd; or that, if the Adminiſtration remain'd in ſuch Hands as thoſe of *Saturninus*, nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to be at a Diſtance from *Rome*. He then went into Exile: His Virtue and great Character made him to be received in every Place he went through, as a Fellow-Citizen: He ſeem'd no Stranger in any Place; And having fix'd that of his Abode in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, he there enjoy'd in a ſweet Tranquillity, that natural Empire, which Virtue beſtows without the Addition of Places and Dignities.

The Commonwealth fell a Prey to *Saturninus*, by the Retreat of *Metellus*. MARIUS, to acknowledge the Services he had done him in this Affair, ſuffer'd him to exerciſe an open Tyranny in *Rome*; there was not any Liberty left at the Election; Force carried every thing. That furious Tribune, always accompanied with a Band of Aſſaſſins inſtead of Guards, got himſelf continued in

Saturninus's Tyranny.

Year of Rome, 654.

the Tribunate for the third time, and procur'd to be one of his Colleagues, a run-away Slave, named *L. Equilius Firmanus*, who called himſelf a Son of *Tiberius Gracchus*; he proceeded at laſt to that Degree of Violence, that having reſolved to [illegible] *Glaucia*, the Accomplice of all his Crimes, to the Conſulſhip, he cauſed *Memmius*, an eminent *Patrician*, becauſe he was *Glaucia*'s Rival, to be beaten to Death by *P. Mettius*, one of his Guards.

Memmius *murder'd.*

This Murder caus'd the better Sort of People to take up Arms; even the Populace join'd the Senate; the Place of the Aſſembly was like a Field of Battle, where the Blood of the Citizens was ſpilt with Impunity. *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *C. Sauſeius*, then Quæſtor, and their Party, finding themſelves the weakeſt, ſeiz'd upon the Capitol. The Senate, by a publick Decree, proclaimed them Enemies to their Country, and order'd MARIUS to proſecute them as ſuch. He was obliged to arm, but he did it ſo ſlowly, as made it apparent, it was much againſt his Inclination, that he obey'd the Orders of the Senate.

Saturninus *and* Glaucia *proclaimed Enemies to their Country.*

The People, well acquainted with his Inclination, and ſecret Intrigues, weary of his apparent Delays, for which he always pleaded ſome Excuſe, and bearing with Uneaſineſs thoſe Profligates to continue in the ſtrongeſt Part of the Town, cut the Pipes that carried Water into the Capitol, and ſoon reduced thoſe Rioters to a deſperate Thirſt. The greateſt Part, rather than ſurrender, were for ſetting Fire to ſome Neighbouring Houſes, in hopes they ſhould make their Eſcape during the Confuſion and Tumult that is common in ſuch Accidents: But *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, depending on their Intimacy with MARIUS, ſurrender'd to him. He cauſed them to be confin'd in the Palace, as if he deſign'd to have brought them to a regular Trial. But that Houſe was rather a Place of Safety for them, than a Priſon,

ſon, and he had ſet Guards upon them, leſs to prevent their running away, than to ſecure them againſt the Attempts of their Enemies.

Theſe Precautions did not hinder the People, work'd up into a violent Paſſion, from doing themſelves Juſtice. Part of them drive away the Guards, and ſurround the Place of their Confinement; others get upon the Top of the Houſe, take down the Tiles, and with them and Stones kill *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *Saufeius*, and that Band of Profligates that had been ſecured there with them. Their Death was as the Signal for the Reſtoration of *Metellus*. His Relations, Friends, or rather the whole Senate, demanded his Repeal of the People in a publick Aſſembly. All unanimouſly voted his Return, except one ſingle Tribune of the People call'd *Furius*, who had the Confidence to oppoſe the Wiſhes of all his Fellow-Citizens. Saturninus *and* Glaucia *murder'd.* Metellus *re-call'd.* *Year of* Rome, 654.

This Tribune was no better than the Son of a Freed man; but as he was inveſted with a Dignity which gave him the right of Oppoſition, the Friends of *Metellus* did all they could to prevail with him to wave it. Even the Son of *Metellus* threw himſelf down at his Feet, in the midſt of the Aſſembly, and with Tears in his Eyes, conjur'd him to reſtore his Father to him; which was the Occaſion of his bearing afterwards the Sirname of *Metellus Pius*. But the Tribune, deaf to all Intreaties, rejected his Petition with a very harſh Uſage. Luckily *C. Canuleius* was choſen Tribune of the People the next Year. That *Plebeian* Magiſtrate having a Reſpect for the great Merit of *Metellus*, not only took off this Oppoſition, but fell upon *Furius* himſelf, and impeach'd him that Moment before the People. He laid before them with a great deal of Rhetorick, his Inhumanity, and the ill Uſe he had made of the Prerogatives of his Dignity. He urged, that to ſatisfy his private Paſſion, he had deprived his App. Alex. l. 1. Cic. in Rabir.

The Tribune Furius *torn in Pieces by the Populace.* App. Alex. Ibid.

Country of one of the beſt Citizens in the whole Commonwealth. In ſhort, he render'd his Colleague ſo odious, that the People, without ſo much as hearing his Defence, tore him immediately to Pieces. And the Tribunate, that ſacred Magiſtracy, which had been eſtabliſhed to no other End, than to protect and defend the Citizens, was violated in the Perſon of a Tribune, for having attempted to carry his Authority too far.

The Reſtoration of *Metellus* meeting with no farther Obſtacle, he returned to *Rome*. The whole City went out to meet him, and his Return was a real Triumph. The whole Day was not ſufficient for receiving the Compliments of the Senate, and the Applauſes of the People. Every Body thought they ſaw Juſtice, Peace, and Liberty, return with him. MARIUS alone, always jealous of his Glory, and not able either to hinder or to bear his Return, went out of *Rome*, and imbark'd, under Pretence of going to *Aſia*, to offer certain Sacrifices, which he had vow'd, as he ſaid, to the Mother of the Gods, during the War with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. Beſides the Preſence of *Metellus*, which he ſhunn'd, and which ſeem'd to reproach him continually with Ungratefulneſs, there was a ſecret Motive which obliged him to quit *Rome*, and go as far as *Aſia*. MARIUS, a great General, but of a rough Temper, and accuſtom'd to that abſolute Authority which goes along with the Command of the Armies, did in a manner languiſh in peaceable times, and even wanted thoſe Talents which are neceſſary to gain Applauſe in a Commonwealth, where generally Men were advanced to the Adminiſtration by their Eloquence.

Marius *goes into* Aſia; *and why.*

A War was neceſſary for him to regain his Credit. If we may believe *Plutarch*, the private Deſign of his Voyage was to kindle one in *Aſia*, and eſpecially to draw the *Romans* into a Declaration

of War againſt MITHRIDATES, the moſt powerful King in all the *Eaſt*, who was ſuſpected of entring into Leagues, and making Preparations againſt the *Romans*. MARIUS would have been wonderfully glad of effecting his Deſign, not doubting but he ſhould have the Command of the Forces employ'd in that War, gain new Victories, and enrich his Family with the Spoils of the *Eaſt*.

It is ſaid, that being at the Court of that great Prince, and having made him ſome Overtures, to ſound his Intentions, when he found that MITHRIDATES did not anſwer directly to the Point, *It is neceſſary*, MITHRIDATES, ſaid he, *either that you find a way to become more powerful than the* Romans, *or ſubmit to the Law of the ſtrongeſt*. The King of *Pontus*, the proudeſt Prince of his Time, and uſed to the ſlaviſh Language commonly ſpoke in King's Palaces, ſeem'd ſurpriz'd at the Diſcourſe of that bold Commonwealth's Man: But as he was no leſs a Politician than a great General, and that his Preparations were not yet compleat, he concealed his Diſpleaſure, and ſent MARIUS away loaded with Preſents.

Marius at Mithridates's Court.

Plut. in Mario.

That *Roman*, after having viſited Part of *Aſia*, returned to *Rome*, where he found but few Friends, and yet leſs Credit. His harſh and haughty Manners were not becoming in a free State, where every Body thinks himſelf very near upon the Level with the beſt, and where the great Ones acquire and preſerve their Creatures only by their Careſſes and good Offices. He met with the Fate of moſt great Warriors, who live to be old in a Peace of long Continuance; that is to ſay, his Victories were forgot; and he was look'd upon, ſays *Plutarch*, at beſt, like thoſe old Weapons, covered all over with Ruſt, and laid by as uſeleſs for the future. Beſides, there was a new Race of younger Generals, who had engroſs'd all the Favour of the Publick; and among thoſe of the *Patrician* Order

Marius *meets with but few Friends.*

Sylla's *Eulogy.* der the moſt taken Notice of, SYLLA, whom we have mention'd before, held the firſt Rank.

We have ſeen how dextrouſly that *Patrician* had at once put an End to the *Numidian* War, by obliging *Bocchus* to deliver *Jugurtha* up to him. It was with the ſame Ability, that whilſt the *Romans* had their Hands full with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he hinder'd the *Marſi* * from declaring for thoſe *Barbarians*. No Body, next to MARIUS, had a greater Share in the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, one of whoſe Kings he took Priſoner himſelf.

Marius's *Hatred to* Sylla. MARIUS, jealous of all ſorts of Merit, but chiefly of the Characters built on the Fame of warlike Exploits, forc'd SYLLA, by repeated ill Uſage, to quit the Service. *Catulus*, who knew his Valour and Capacity, offer'd him in his Army the ſame Poſt he had enjoy'd in that of MARIUS, with the additional Promiſe of repoſing an entire Confidence in him. SYLLA, full of Fire, Action and Courage, was a great Help to him in all the Parts that are particularly the General's. And as *Catulus* was old and ſlow, every Thing fell upon SYLLA. He it was that regulated the Marches, Incampments, Detachments of Parties, and took Care to ſupply the Army with Proviſions. Nothing was out of his Way. And whilſt MARIUS wanted Neceſſaries in his Camp, there was ſo great an abundance in that of *Catulus*, that his Soldiers beſtow'd Quantities very liberally on thoſe of his Colleague. It is ſaid, that MARIUS thereupon conceiv'd the moſt violent jealouſy againſt SYLLA, that he look'd on that liberality as an indirect Method of ſeducing his Soldiers, and that it was one of the Motives that kindled afterwards between them that Hatred, the Conſequences whereof were ſo fatal to the Commonwealth. That Hatred began to ſhow it-

* *A Nation of* Italy, *bordering on the* Samnites, *and inhabiting that Part of the Kingdom of* Naples *now called the farther* Abruzzo.

ſelf on Occaſion of ſome Repreſentation of the Victory by Figures, and of certain golden Images, which *Bocchus* conſecrated in the Capitol. Thoſe Images deſcribed the manner in which he had delivered JUGURTHA into the Hands of SYLLA. MARIUS attempted to carry off thoſe Monuments, becauſe they ſeemed to attribute to his Queſtor, who was but an inferior Officer, all the Glory of an Event, which had happen'd during his Conſulſhip. SYLLA, on his Side, oppoſed it with all his Credit, and an inſuperable Firmneſs. They very near came to Blows, and this at a Time when every Thing at *Rome* was carried by mere Force and Violence. Every Body took Party according to his Intereſt or Inclination; all *Rome* was divided; and a Matter of ſo little Moment, maintain'd on both Sides by two proud and haughty Men, who hated each other, reviv'd that Antipathy between the Nobility and People, which deriv'd its Beginning almoſt from the very Foundation of the Commonwealth. Cabals and Factions were form'd; each call'd upon his Friends and Dependents to aſſiſt him. In ſhort, the City was in that turbulent Motion, which is commonly a Fore-runner of a Civil War, when the Death of *Livius Druſus* occaſion'd the *Social War*, that ſuſpended all thoſe domeſtick Strifes.

Origin of the Social War.

It may not be amiſs here to explain in what manner this foreign War took its Birth within *Rome* it ſelf, and afterwards ſpread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* were wont to vary their Forms of Government according to the Temper and Cuſtoms of the different Nations that were ſubject to them. The Citizens, whether they dwelt in *Rome*, or in any Part of the Country, being regiſter'd in the Rolls of their Tribe, gave their Names in to the Cenſors, thoſe of their Children, their Slaves, as alſo a Valuation of their Eſtates; upon which the Taxes they were to pay were regulated. None

Roman Citizens, what they were.

but

but Citizens were allowed to liſt in thoſe invincible Legions, which made *Rome* the Miſtreſs of the World. They choſe their Commanders and their Magiſtrates. They voted for Peace, or for War; and the Right of Voting being attach'd to the Quality of each *Roman* Citizen, made every one a Sharer in the Sovereignty of the State. The ſeveral Nations of *Latium* (the *Latin* Country) had either ſubmitted themſelves to the Commonwealth, or had been conquer'd and ſubdued by Force of Arms. They were obliged to pay the Taxes that were impos'd on them; and furniſh'd, in Times of War, ſuch a Number of Horſe and Foot, as were demanded of them. In other Matters, though in ſome Reſpect they made a Part of the Commonwealth, and help'd to bear the Charges of it, yet were they not admitted to Offices, nor had they any Right of Voting. It is true, that in dangerous or difficult Times, in order to bind them the faſter to the Intereſts of the Commonwealth, ſome Indulgence was ſhown them in thoſe Points, as was particularly done at the Time of the ſecond *Punick* War; leſt thoſe different Nations, which all together, and united, made the greateſt Strength of the Commonwealth, ſhould be debauch'd by *Hannibal*, full as much ſkill'd in bringing about ſuch ſort of Defections and Revolts, as he was to be dreaded in the Field. But as ſoon as the Danger was over, the *Romans* omitted no Means to make them ſenſible, that thoſe Conceſſions had been deſign'd only as occaſional Favours, from which they were not for the future to claim any Right. However, every City in *Latium* was govern'd by one of her own Citizens, elected by a Majority of Voices, who, under the Title of Prætor, adminiſtred Juſtice to them: And that Prætor, after the Expiration of his Office, was regiſter'd as a *Roman* Citizen. That Office confer'd on him the Privileges of Nobility; and this Prerogative diſtinguiſhed that

Privileges of Latium.

State

State from all other Countries, which were called *Provinces* of the Commonwealth; to which a Prætor was ſent from *Rome*, to adminiſter Juſtice, and a Quæſtor to levy the Taxes.

Theſe Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, as we obſerv'd before, had long demanded the Right and Name of *Roman* Citizens. They remonſtrated, That they paid conſiderable Taxes: That in War Time, their Country alone rais'd double the Number of Forces, to what *Rome* and its Territories did: That the Commonwealth ow'd partly to their Valour that prodigious Power to which it was riſen: And that it was but juſt they ſhould ſhare the Honours of a State, whoſe Empire they had enlarged by their Arms. We have ſeen above in what manner *Caius Gracchus* periſh'd, for having endeavour'd to obtain that Right of *Roman* Citizens for the *Latins*. The Senate and Nobles oppos'd him; pretending it was not juſt to make thoſe their Equals and Fellow-Citizens, who were in reality Subjects of the Commonwealth. But the true Motive of their Oppoſition was, that they could not bear any Body ſhould go about to render the Party of the People ſtronger, by making it more numerous with theſe Aſſociates. The Death of *Caius* did not frighten *Druſus*, becauſe he flatter'd himſelf with Succeſs, if he took another Method, by ſeeking to make himſelf the Mediator betwixt the two Parties: A Deſign, in Truth, very commendable; but as much beyond his Capacity, as his Credit. It was to render himſelf agreeable to both, that he propoſ'd, during his ſecond Tribunate, to reſtore to the Senate the Right of enquiring into the Crimes of Extortion, which had been conferr'd on the Equeſtrian Order; and to make that ſecond Order amends by letting into the Senate three hundred of them: And by Favour of thoſe two Laws, he endeavour'd to get thoſe of *Caius Gracchus* to paſs,

Druſus's Scheme.

Year of Rome, 662.

paſs, relating to the Diviſion of Lands, and the Right of Citizenſhip in Behalf of the *Latins*.

Tit. Liv. l. 71. App. l. 1. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 18. Autor de Viris illuſtr. c. 66.

But he found the Senators and the Knights equally averſe to thoſe Propoſals. The Senate ſeem'd to reſent, that a Tribune ſhould offer to thruſt into that Auguſt Aſſembly three hundred Knights, who muſt carry all before them by their Numbers: And thoſe of the Knights, who had Reaſon to fear they ſhould not be of the three hundred deſign'd for Senators, would not conſent that their Body ſhould be depriv'd of a Juriſdiction and a Tribunal, which made them very conſiderable in *Rome*. So that theſe two Orders, though otherwiſe divided in their Intereſts, yet agreed to reject the Laws propos'd by *Druſus*. He met ſtill with a ſtronger Oppoſition about the Laws of *Caius*, which he deſign'd to renew. The very Name of *Agrarian* Laws ſtirr'd up the Reſentment of thoſe, who were poſſeſs'd of Eſtates in conquer'd Lands: And the great Men of *Rome*, accuſtom'd to that Empire they exerc'd over the Nations ſubjected to the Commonwealth, could never forgive DRUSUS the Attempt of making thoſe their Fellow-Citizens, whom they always look'd upon as their Subjects. Such oppoſite Intereſts gave Birth to continual Diſputes in all their Aſſemblies: And as every Thing there was carried leſs by the Rules of Equity, than by the Strength and Credit of each Party; a great Body of *Latins* was come to *Rome*, to ſupport their Protector: But that avail'd him not; he could not eſcape the Fury of his Oppoſers. Surrounded by a Multitude of People that were about his Tribunal, which he had caus'd to be plac'd in a dark Gallery in his Houſe, he was ſtabb'd in the Side with a Knife, which the Murderer left in the Wound, and of which he died. It was impoſſible to diſcover who gave the Blow, he being loſt in the Crowd: But *Quintus Varius*, Tribune of the People, made himſelf ſuſ-

Cic. in Cluent.

The Grandees oppoſe Druſus.

Druſus ſtabb'd.

pected

pected, by a Law which he propos'd ſome Time after the Death of DRUSUS. That Law declar'd Traitors, and Enemies of the State, all ſuch as ſhould propoſe again to grant the Prerogative of Citizenſhip to Strangers, or Nations of *Italy*, that were Subjects of the Commonwealth.

Social War.

The Death of DRUSUS, murder'd in his Tribunal, for having attempted to procure the Right of Citizens to thoſe Nations, gave Birth to that War which was called *Social*, or of the Confederates. Thoſe Nations, enrag'd to ſee themſelves fruſtrated of their Hopes and Pretenſions, by the Murder of their Protector, reſolv'd to obtain their Ends by Force of Arms. The principal Cities firſt ſent Deputies to each other privately, to communicate their Reſentment. Next, they ſign'd a League, and gave each other mutual Hoſtages. Every Diſtrict made a Proviſion of Arms and Horſes: Soldiers were liſted; Generals appointed. *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventidius*, *M. Egnatius*, and *Vetius Cato*, all Officers of great Name, were to command different Bodies. But before they began any Acts of Hoſtility, they ſent Deputies to *Rome*, demanding, in the Name of all the Nations in *Italy*, that were either Allies, or Dependents on the Commonwealth, to be received into the Number of *Roman* Citizens.

Year of Rome, 663. App. l. 1. Vell. l. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 83.

The Senate, equally inform'd of their Pretenſions, and of their Forces, peremptorily refus'd to hear their Deputies; and Word was ſent them, That they ſhould have no Audience, till thoſe that ſent them had departed from the Confederacy they had lately ſign'd: And with this Anſwer they were diſmiſs'd.

The Confederates, upon the Return of their Deputies, took up Arms every where at the ſame Time. At once was ſeen, in the Heart of *Italy*, an Army of an hundred thouſand Men, all in Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*: And what render'd

thoſe

thoſe Forces formidable, was, That they were commanded by excellent Generals, who had been bred and train'd up in the *Roman* Armies and Diſcipline.

Year of Rome, 663. The Senate, on its Part, arm'd with uncommon Speed, and rais'd a greater Number of Legions than uſual. *Sextus Julius Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, both Conſuls this Year, took the Field, and headed each an Army. They had for Lieutenants, *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Cornelius Sylla*, and *Licinius Craſſus*; who bore the Character of being the ableſt Generals of the *Roman* State, and who had all of them commanded Armies as Conſuls and Generals. But the Love of their Country was the Cauſe that thoſe very Men, who had commanded in Chief during one Year, did not diſdain to ſerve the following in the ſame Armies as Lieutenants. To them the Title of Proconſuls was given; and though always dependent on the two Conſuls, and their Directions, yet they commanded ſeparate Bodies, becauſe of the many Places where they had Enemies to oppoſe.

Never had the Commonwealth ſo many different Armies, at the ſame Time, in *Italy* before. For fear of a Surprize, Guards were quartered at all the Gates and Avenues of *Rome*, during a War, wherein the Soldiery of the two oppoſite Parties were dreſs'd in the ſame Manner, ſpoke the ſame Language, and knew each other; ſo that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh between the Citizen and the Enemy. Many were the bloody Rencounters, Battles, and Cities taken. Fortune often changed Sides, which weaken'd each of them by Turns, without abating any Thing of their Fierceneſs and Fury. At laſt the Senate obſerving, that even the Victories gain'd by the Commonwealth were fatal and deſtructive, and that by deſtroying its Allies, it loſt ſo many brave Soldiers, who before fought its Battles; that wiſe Body thought fit to abate of

The Senate favourable to Allies.

of its former Stiffneſs, yet gave way but gradually, by little and little, that they might ſtill keep up the Dignity of the *Roman* Name; and alſo, by that Method, to ſow Diviſions among the Allies. That Right and Prerogative of Citizens, which had occaſion'd this War, was at firſt granted only to the neareſt Neighbours of *Rome*, or ſuch as had not taken up Arms, or offer'd the firſt to lay them down. This Conduct allay'd the Fire of the Enemies: The Confederates diſtruſting each other, haſten'd to make their ſeparate Peace: And the *Romans*, on their Side, thought it became their Greatneſs better, to abate of their Demands in Behalf of a divided and weaken'd Enemy, than to have given way to the entire Body of the Confederacy, even when it was in its greateſt Strength. At laſt all theſe ſeveral Nations ſucceſſively obtain'd the Right of Citizens of *Rome*, except the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, their Neighbours, a fierce and courageous People, jealous of, and Enemies to, *Rome's* Greatneſs, and who maintain'd the War ſome time longer; though it was more an Effect of their Inveteracy, than an Argument of their Strength. App. Alex. l. 1. Vel. Pat. l. 2.

Although the Senate had granted that Prerogative to the Neighbours of *Rome*, they almoſt reduc'd it to nothing by the Manner and Articles of the Convention. For inſtead of diſtributing that Multitude of new Citizens into the old five and thirty Tribes, where, by their Numbers, they would have been Maſters of almoſt all Deliberations; the Senate very dextrouſly, and with their own Conſent, made eight new Tribes of them all. And as by their Creation, they were always the laſt that gave their Votes; there was no need of counting them, when the old Tribes did agree. So that this Right of Burgherſhip, which had coſt the Confederates ſo much Blood, was to them ſcarce any thing but an empty Title, without Authority, and without Benefit. *Eight new Tribes.*

It was not long before they were ſenſible, that they had been put all together under the eight laſt Tribes, with no other View, than to render their Votes uſeleſs. The Senate however flatter'd themſelves, that by this Stratagem they had reſtor'd Peace to *Italy*, and thought of making War in the *Eaſt*; when the Jealouſy betwixt the Great occaſion'd a Civil War to enſue immediately upon that of the Confederates. MARIUS, upwards of ſeventy Years old, had not maintain'd in this War, that great Reputation, which he had acquir'd in that againſt the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; whether becauſe of the Heavineſs and Slowneſs concomitant to old Age, or that Fortune had not thrown Occaſions of ſignalizing himſelf in his way, cannot be known: For he had even kept himſelf almoſt all along upon the Defenſive. *Sylla*, on the contrary, lively, active and impetuous, had gain'd great Battles, taken conſiderable Towns, and had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf throughout this War by ſo many and glorious Succeſſes, that immediately upon the Peace, he had the Conſulate conferr'd on him, as the firſt Reward of his Services. He was afterwards declar'd Governor of *Aſia Minor*, and Commander in Chief in the War againſt MITHRIDATES; the mightieſt Prince of all the *Eaſt*, a great General; but unjuſt, cruel, bloody, as moſt Conquerors are, and whoſe Empire was moſtly made up of States uſurp'd from his Neighbours. His Forces were proportion'd to his Deſigns and Ambition. They reckon'd in his Armies no leſs than two Hundred and fifty Thouſand Foot, fifty Thouſand Horſe, and an infinite Number of arm'd Chariots: And his Sea-Ports contain'd more than four Hundred Ships of War. Able Generals were at the Head of thoſe different Bodies; but he himſelf was ſtill the prime Director of the whole: And where he did not command in Perſon, he alone directed their Operations. He had made him-

Sylla *ſent againſt* Mithridates.

Year of Rome, 665.

himſelf Maſter of *Cappadocia* and *Bithinia*, which he had conquer'd from *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the Sovereigns of thoſe Kingdoms, and Allies of the *Roman* State. All *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Athens*, moſt of the *Cyclades* Iſlands had undergone the ſame Fate. And the Senate having ſent to him, to deſire he would withdraw his Forces from all thoſe Provinces which were under the Protection of the Commonwealth; that Prince, to ſhew he fear'd neither their Power nor Reſentment, caus'd in one Day above one Hundred and fifty Thouſand *Romans* to be murder'd, moſt of 'em Merchants; who, truſting to the Peace, had ſettled and traded in the *Eaſt*, and in the principal Towns of *Greece*. He threaten'd *Rome* it ſelf, and all *Italy*, with the Power of his Arms, when SYLLA was named to have the Direction of the War againſt him.

Mithridates's Uſurpation.

Romans murder'd in Aſia to the Number of 150,000 in one Day. Vell Pat. l. 2. c. 18.

MARIUS, whoſe Ambition was yet like that of a young Man, and who (as we have ſeen) aim'd at that Command, look'd on this Preference as an Injuſtice done to him. It ſeem'd as if all the Preferments of the Commonwealth did of Right belong to him. He reſolv'd to carry that, of making War upon MITHRIDATES, from SYLLA. He brought over to his Intereſt a Tribune of the People, call'd *P. Sulpitius*, an inveterate Enemy to SYLLA; a great Orator, a bold and enterprizing Man; who, beſides, was much regarded in *Rome*, upon Account of his great Riches, and of his vaſt Number of Clients; and yet more fear'd for the Miſchief he could do, and the Influence and Intereſt his Office gave him.

Competition between Marius and Sylla. Vell. Pat. l. 2.

Theſe two Men, united in the common Hatred they bore to SYLLA, and to the Body of the Nobility, agreed, before they declar'd themſelves, to ſtrengthen their Party. To ſucceed herein, *Sulpitius*, who had diſcover'd how much the Confederates were diſſatisfied to ſee themſelves ſunk'd

Marius unites with Sulpitius.

in the eight lowermoſt Tribes of the Commonwealth; propos'd in their Behalf to ſuppreſs thoſe eight Tribes, and to incorporate afterwards all thoſe *Italians* that compos'd them, into the five and thirty ancient Tribes. He promis'd himſelf from their great Numbers, to become Maſter of all publick Reſolutions. The ancient Citizens, inſtructed by the Senate, ſoon perceiv'd, that if theſe new Tribes were let in amongſt 'em, the Strangers, who were but lately admitted to the Rank of Citizens by Favour, would inſenſibly ruin the Credit of thoſe very Men, who had conferr'd that Favour on them. Thoſe Conſiderations determin'd them to oppoſe the Publication of that Law. The Tribune, on his Side, ſupported by thoſe new Citizens, whom he on purpoſe ſent for to *Rome*, was reſolv'd to make it paſs by main Force. The two Parties came to Blows; and there were a great Number of Citizens kill'd on both Sides during the Conteſt. The Night coming on, parted the Aſſembly, before any thing was decided.

Sulpitius's Inſolence. The Conſuls, to diſtance the Day of another Aſſembly, proclaim'd Holy-Days upon different Pretences; during which, it was forbidden to do any Buſineſs. *Sulpitius*, without any Regard to thoſe Holy-Days, ſummon'd the People. He came there himſelf, at the Head of ſix Hundred of his Party, with Arms under their Gowns; a Sort of Guards that every where attended him, and which he us'd to call the *Anti-Senate*. He ſent to the two Conſuls, ſummoning them to come to the Aſſembly, and inſtantly to revoke the Holy-Days which they had proclaim'd; that the People might be at Liberty to give their Votes about the abrogating the eight late Tribes, as he had propos'd in the laſt Meeting.

The Anti-Senate of Sulpitius.

A Tumult. This Diſcourſe rais'd a great Commotion betwixt the old and new Citizens. Thoſe of *Sulpitius's* Side drew their Swords, and fell on the People, who ran

ran away; and the Son of *Q. Pompeius*, Son-in-Law to SYLLA, was kill'd, as he was ſuccouring his Father. *Pompeius* hid himſelf in the Throng: SYLLA being purſu'd by his Enemies, fled into the very Houſe of MARIUS, having found the Door open. MARIUS, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, forbore killing a Man who had taken Refuge in his Houſe: He ſaved his Life. But to keep it, he was oblig'd to return to the Aſſembly, and to declare, That he aboliſh'd and repeal'd the Holy-Days. He then withdrew himſelf from that Aſſembly; and not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in *Rome*, where the oppoſite Party prevail'd, he quitted the City inſtantly, and made haſte to put himſelf at the Head of thoſe Troops which he had commanded in the Confederate War, and which were to march under his Command into the *Eaſt*, againſt MITHRIDATES. The Holy-Days being repeal'd, and both the Conſuls fled, *Sulpitius*, now Maſter and Abſolute in *Rome*, got without any Difficulty the Law to paſs, that had been the Occaſion of the Tumult: And by the ſame Law, he took from SYLLA the Command of the Army above-mention'd, cauſing the People to commiſſion MARIUS in his Stead.

Plut. in Sylla.

Sylla *flies to* Marius's *Houſe.*

He flies from Rome.

That General ſent immediately ſome Officers of his Party, to take Poſſeſſion of the Command till he could go himſelf: But SYLLA had prevented them, as we have related. He had drawn over all the Soldiers to his Intereſt; giving them Hopes of enriching them with the Spoils of the *Eaſt*; ſo that inſtead of obeying the Orders that came from MARIUS, they knock'd his Officers on the Head, and beſought SYLLA to lead them againſt his Enemies at *Rome*, before he tranſported them to *Aſia*. MARIUS, incens'd at the Death of his Officers, us'd Reprizals; caus'd ſeveral of SYLLA's Friends to be put to Death, and their Houſes to be plunder'd. Which oblig'd others haſtily to quit *Rome*, and ſeek a Refuge in *Sylla*'s Camp. Theſe Maſſacres deter-

Idem App. ibid.

Civil War between Marius *and* Sylla.

Plut. in Sylla.

Sylla *marches to* Rome.

min'd the latter to march ſtrait to *Rome*. He was at the Head of ſix Legions; whoſe Soldiers, animated with his Spirit, ſought nothing but Revenge and Plunder. But ſeveral Officers, averſe to turn their Arms againſt their own Country, quitted the Service; ſo that nothing was ſeen on the Roads, but People flying from the City to the Camp to eſcape MARIUS's Cruelty; and on the other hand, People that were going from the Camp to *Rome*, to avoid taking either Side in this Civil War. In the mean time SYLLA was ſtill approaching; and he was met on the way by *Q. Pompeius*, his Colleague in the Conſulſhip, who join'd him.

MARIUS and *Sulpitius*, who had no Army to oppoſe him, interpos'd the Authority of the Magiſtracy, and ſent to him *Brutus* and *Servilius*, both Prætors, with their Adherents; who very haughtily commanded SYLLA to ſtop his March. His Soldiers incens'd at the Manner in which thoſe two Prætors had ſpoke to their General, broke the Faſces and Axes, which the Lictors were wont to carry before thoſe Magiſtrates. They fell upon them, tore their Purple Gowns; and had certainly kill'd them, if SYLLA had not prevented it.

The Diſorder thoſe two Magiſtrates were in, when they re-enter'd *Rome*, made them ſenſible, that all Reſpect for the Laws was laid aſide, and that Violence and ſuperior Power was henceforth to determine all Things. MARIUS and *Sulpitius*, who knew themſelves in no Condition to reſiſt a potent and incens'd Enemy, diſpatch'd to him, in the Name of the Senate, ſome new Deputies to endeavour at leaſt to retard his March. Thoſe Deputies intreated the two Conſuls to ſuſpend their Anger and Reſentment, and not to bring their Army nearer to *Rome* than about * five Miles, telling them, that while their Troops were refreſhing themſelves, the Senate was in hopes of

* *Five Miles, or forty Stadia, or two French Leagues.*

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bringing Matters to an Accommodation, and giving them full Satisfaction.

The two Conſuls eaſily perceiving, that they were amuſed only to give time to MARIUS to raiſe Forces; in order to deceive the Deputies, made as if they accepted their Propoſals. SYLLA, in their Preſence, commanded his Officers to mark out a Camp, and to appoint Quarters in the Neighbourhood they were in. But no ſooner were the Deputies gone, but he ſent all his Horſe at their Heels, and ſoon began his March with his whole Army, arriving before the Gates of *Rome*, when his Enemies believ'd him ſtill in his Camp. App. Alex. l. 1. Sylla *enters* Rome, *Sword in Hand.*

His Forces entred the City Sword in Hand, as they wou'd have done a Town taken from an Enemy by Storm. MARIUS and SULPITIUS, though ſurprized, oppoſed their Paſſage with a Body of their Party that had join'd them; and the People, fearing the Town ſhould be plunder'd, declar'd in their Favour, and threw Darts and Stones from the Tops of the Houſes on SYLLA's Soldiers. But that General having theatned to ſet Fire to them, and taken a Torch in his own Hand, the People diſcontinued thoſe Acts of Hoſtility, and remain'd Spectators of the Fight betwixt the two Parties. In vain did MARIUS and SULPITIUS call them to their Aid, though they promiſed Liberty to ſuch Slaves as ſhould arm in their Defence; no body offer'd to ſtir; and SYLLA's Forces ſtill gaining Ground, drove them to the Temple of the Goddeſs *Tellus*, whence they were obliged to fly and quit *Rome*. SYLLA ſeeing himſelf Maſter of the City, poſted Guards in all the open Places, to prevent Diſorder. He even cauſed ſome of his Soldiers to be puniſh'd ſeverely, for having entred ſome Houſes to plunder them; and he was himſelf buſy all Night in viſiting the different Quarters, to reſtrain the Soldiers, commonly inſolent upon a Victory, and to prevent the Citizens being abuſed. Plut. in Sylla. Marius *flies.* Sylla *remains Maſter of* Rome.

The two Conſuls having employ'd the whole Night in providing for the publick Safety, their next Care in the Morning was to get their Conduct, though very extraordinary, approved and authorized by ſome new Laws, and to cloath themſelves, at leaſt outwardly, with ſome Show of Right, which ſeldom fails thoſe who have the Power in their Hands. To obtain this, they form'd the Deſign of raiſing anew the Authority of the Senate, which the Tribunes of the People had much impair'd by that infinite Number of new Laws made to favour the People, moſt of which had been enacted by ſeditious Men, and an arm'd Force. With that View they ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the *Roman* People. SYLLA, naturally a good Orator, deplored the Calamities of the Commonwealth, in Terms no leſs moving than lively. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that the Differences which for ſo long a time had diſturb'd the City, and the State, proceeded only from the mutinous and turbulent Spirit of the Tribunes, who, to make themſelves conſiderable, omitted nothing that could provoke the Hatred of the People againſt the Senate. That thoſe popular Magiſtrates, who had been inſtituted in the Beginning with no other View, than to prevent Violence which ſhould be offer'd to any *Roman* Citizen, had imperceivably, and under different Colours, render'd themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Adminiſtration. That by new Laws, unknown to their Anceſtors, they had found the Secret to reduce to nothing the Authority of the Conſuls, and the Dignity of the Senate. That to cauſe thoſe Innovations and Encroachments, which they cover'd over with the plauſible Name of Laws, to be tolerated, they had in the Election of Magiſtrates, abolliſhed the Cuſtom, eſtabliſhed from time immemorial, of taking the Votes by Centuries; and in the room of that ancient Method, ſubſti-

App. l. 1.

ſubſtituted that of collectiug the Votes by Tribes, and chiefly in the Election for Tribunes of the People. That by this Change, wherein the Votes of the Nobles, and the Rich, were confounded with thoſe of the Poor, inſtead of being told by Centuries, the Populace was become the Maſters of all Elections, and that their Choice moſt commonly fell upon ſeditious Men, rather than People of good Characters. That to root out Abuſes ſo pernicious to the Quiet of the Commonwealth, it was his Opinion, That for the future it ſhould not be allowed, that any body of what Condition ſoever, ſhould propoſe to the People any Law, that had not been before approved by the Senate. Laſtly, That in Elections Votes ſhould no longer be taken but by Claſſes, which were a Sort of Rolls, in which all the Citizens were divided by Centuries, according to their Eſtates and Rank; but the firſt Claſs whereof, conſiſting of the richeſt, contain'd alone more Centuries than all the other Claſſes put together; which rendred that firſt Claſs, when all its Centuries agreed, the Arbiters of all Deliberations. SYLLA added, That it was needful to forbid the Tribunes making thoſe continual Speeches, which were ſo many Trumpets of Sedition; and that to reduce within juſt Bounds, the exorbitant Ambition of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, it was neceſſary to enact a ſolemn Law; that ſhould pronounce every Citizen, who had bore the Tribunate, incapable of any other Magiſtracy for the future.

Theſe Propoſals, coming from a Man who was at the Head of ſix Legions, and Maſter of *Rome*, ſoon acquired the Force of ſo many Laws. No body durſt oppoſe him; all gave Way to his Authority; and *Rome*, under his Conſulate, aſſumed as it were a new Face. After he had eſtabliſhed his Authority on a ſolid Foundation, he gave his Mind to the revenging his private Injuries. We have before ſaid, that MARIUS, with the Agree-

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ment of *Sulpitius* the Tribune, had caus'd the Command of the Army againſt MITHRIDATES to be conferr'd on him. SYLLA got that Decree repealed, and at the ſame time that Law revok'd, which *Sulpitius* had publiſhed, and by which he had admitted the Confederates into the five and thirty old Tribes. All that had happen'd then was aſcribed to Compulſion and Violence, whilſt he, that complain'd of it, was in a manner holding a Dagger at the Throat of his Fellow-Citizens. Next to this, Articles of Impeachment were drawn up againſt C. MARIUS, young MARIUS, his Son, twelve Senators the chief of their Party, and the Tribune *Sulpitius*, for having been the Authors of the laſt Inſurrection. They were abſent, and their Accuſer was the Man who then commanded in *Rome* with an abſolute Authority; ſo that the Proceſs againſt 'em was ſoon ended. They were declared Enemies of the *Roman* State: Rewards were ſet upon their Heads: They were interdicted Water and Fire, which comprehends in that *Roman* Judiciary Stile, all manner of Subſiſtance and Aſſiſtance from any Body; and the Decree of the Senate was proclaimed in *Rome*, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* State by Sound of Trumpet, ordaining they ſhould every where be proſecuted at the publick Charge; and be put to Death, as ſoon as ever they cou'd be found. SYLLA did at the ſame time detach ſome Troops on all Sides to hunt them down. MARIUS however eſcaped their Diligence; but the Tribune *Sulpitius* was found by ſome of SYLLA's Horſe in the Moors and Marſhes of *Laurentum*. His Head being cut off, was carried to *Rome*, and nail'd to the *Roſtrum*. That terrible Sight was an Omen of all the Blood that the Ambition and Hatred of MARIUS and SYLLA did afterwards ſpill in *Rome*, and the whole *Roman* State.

Marius and his Friends impeach'd. Ap. Alex. l. 1. de bello civ.

Murmurings againſt Sylla.

The People could not behold the Head of one of their Magiſtrates, nailed on his own [illegible] without

without a ſecret Indignation. And even the Senate murmur'd at the Proſcription of C. MARIUS, and the other Senators of his Party, although they were very well pleas'd to ſee the *Plebeians* humbled. Moſt of the Senators, jealous of the Honour and Dignity of their Body, cou'd not bear, that their Colleagues ſhould be proſcrib'd in the ſame ignominious Manner as is uſual againſt Thieves and Vagabonds. Some privately reproach'd SYLLA, that he ſought the Death of a Man more generous than himſelf; and that if MARIUS had deliver'd him up to thoſe that purſued him, when he took Refuge in his Houſe, he had by his Death been himſelf Maſter of the Adminiſtration. Such Diſcourſes afterwards repeated by many, in different Companies, alienated the Minds of all from the Perſon of SYLLA. He experienc'd it at the Election of certain Magiſtrates, where *Nonnius* his Nephew, and *Servius*, loſt their Election, for no other Reaſon, than that the People knew them to be Creatures of SYLLA. He, inſtead of ſhowing himſelf angry thereat, affected to make himſelf a Merit of it. He told his Friends, that the little Reſpect which the People had ſhown for his Recommendation, was a certain Proof that *Rome* enjoy'd a perfect Liberty under his Conſulate; and to maintain the ſame Character ſtill, he ſuffer'd that *Cinna*, of his own Family indeed, but of a contrary Party, ſhould be elected Conſul the Year following, who ſoon gave him cauſe to repent that feign'd Moderation, as much contrary to his Humour, as it was to his Intereſt. *Year of Rome* 666. Cinna Conſul.

Cornelius CINNA, though of a *Patrician* Family, had devoted himſelf to the *Plebeian* Party, where he hoped to be taken more Notice of than among the Nobility, who abounded in great Generals, and able Magiſtrates. He was a Man without Honour, and of depraved Manners, precipitate in his Undertakings. Yet, as daring and inconſiderate Cinna's Character.

ſiderate as he was in his Engagements, he maintained them with a Courage and Greatneſs of Soul worthy of a better Citizen. He was no ſooner entred into his Function, but he boaſted inſolently, he would get all the Laws made by SYLLA revealed. He even obliquely attacked him himſelf; and to try his Credit, and the Diſpoſition of the People, he made *Virginius*, one of his Creatures, take upon him to impeach SYLLA. But that great Man, ſlighting equally the Meanneſs of the Accuſer, and the Levity of him that ſet him to work, without vouchſafing ſo much as to give an Anſwer to what was alledged againſt him, left both his Judges and the Cauſe, and ſet out from *Rome* for his Army, to make War againſt MITHRIDATES.

He flatter'd himſelf, that his Party would always be powerful enough to keep the new Conſul in awe, he being a Man of no great Eſteem, and hated beſides for his haughty and violent Humour. But time convinced him, that in Domeſtick Strifes and Civil Wars, one ought neither to rely too much on his beſt Friends, nor ſlight the leaſt Enemy. CINNA himſelf indeed had not Credit ſufficient to make a new Change in the Government; but he had Friends; Men of greater Capacity than himſelf, who made him ſenſible, that in order to maintain himſelf againſt SYLLA, he ought to recal MARIUS, and oppoſe that great General, ſo famous by his Victories, to SYLLA. To effect this, it was neceſſary to get the Decree of his Proſcription reverſed. But the cancelling of ſo ſolemn a Judgment ſeem'd almoſt impoſſible, becauſe of the ſtrong Party that SYLLA had left in *Rome*. CINNA, to counterpoize their Intereſt, and to make ſure of the greateſt Number of Votes, undertook to gain the Confederates to his Side.

Cinna's *Contrivances againſt* Sylla.

We have ſaid above, how artfully the Senate had, as it were, baniſh'd them into the eight loweſt

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loweſt Tribes, that their Votes might never be of any Weight: We have ſeen likewiſe, how MARIUS and *Sulpitius*, with a contrary View, had incorporated them into the five and thirty old Tribes; but that SYLLA had again put Things upon the former Foot: CINNA reſolved to revive the Law in favour of them. To ſucceed therein, he ſent them Word underhand that they ſhould come to *Rome*, in as great Numbers as ever they could, and with Swords under their Gowns, on the firſt Day that the People ſhould meet. All this was executed as he deſir'd; and, at the Day of Meeting, the Forum was crowded with ſuch a prodigious Number of thoſe Confederates, that it was even difficult for the Inhabitants of *Rome* to come near it. CINNA got up himſelf into the *Roſtrum*, and, in a ſtudied Speech, repreſented to the Aſſembly, that the *Latins* and *Italians*, being the ſame Nation with the *Romans*, ſpeaking the ſame Language, living under Laws very near alike, and expoſing daily their Lives to maintain the Glory and Intereſts of the Commonwealth; it was but juſt to form but one Body and one State, of all the different Nations in *Italy*. That to render that Union compleat, the eight youngeſt Tribes ought to be ſuppreſs'd, and the new Citizens placed in the old Tribes, as Chance ſhould determine it. That it was the only Way to maintain Peace and Union in the different Orders of the State, to increaſe their Strength, and make them dreaded by all the Enemies of the *Roman* Name. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 20.

This Speech of the Conſul was received with great Applauſes by the Confederates. They loudly; and with grea Cries, demanded a Poll about the paſſing tha Law. But the ancient Citizens, incens'd to ſe a *Patrician*, and a Conſul too, at the Part of a ſeditious Tribune of the did openly oppoſe the paſſing of the Law. "It ought to ſuffice (ſaid they) thoſe Stran- Ap. Alex. l. 2. c. 15. *Conteſt between the Conſuls.*

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" gers to be Aſſociates of the *Roman* Name; to
" partake of its Rights and Privileges, and to ſee
" themſelves now, from Subjects, as they were
" formerly, become Citizens of *Rome*, without
" pretending to thruſt themſelves violently into
" our own Tribes, to out-vote us by their Numbers.

This Contrariety of Opinions, and of Parties, occaſioned Diſputes, which ſoon grew up into Invectives and Feuds; when the Confederates, drawing their Swords, which they had hid under their Gowns, fell on the ancient Citizens, and forced them to fly and quit the Forum. Moſt ran to the Senate to complain, and addreſs'd themſelves to *Octavius*, CINNA's Colleague in the Conſulate, a Friend to SYLLA, and openly of his Party. This Conſul, who had forſeen the Deſigns of his Colleague, under Pretence of maintaining Peace in the City, had always a conſiderable Number of his Party armed near him. He no ſooner heard what had happen'd in the *Forum*, but he run thither at the Head of SYLLA's Party. He marched through the People, who opened him a Paſſage, as much out of Reſpect for his Dignity, as Fear of the great Number of armed People that followed him. *Octavius*, without regarding any Body, falls upon the *Latins*, drives them before him, diſſipates and puts the Multitude to Flight. The Inhabitants of *Rome* take up Arms, attack the Confederates diſpers'd in ſeveral Streets, purſue them cloſe Sword in Hand, and at laſt oblige them to leave the City.

Cinna *flies.*

CINNA, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by them, runs all over the Town to rally thoſe of his Party; and he invites the very Slaves to join him, promiſing Liberty to as many as ſhould take Arms in his Behalf. The Firſt Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth, whoſe chief Office was to maintain Peace, omits nothing to ſtir up a Sedition. But no Body was moved by his Threats or Promiſes.

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After having made impotent and uſeleſs Efforts, he was obliged to give way to the oppoſite Party. He quitted *Rome*, and went to join that Crowd of *Italians* which came there upon his Invitation. He went ſucceſſively to all their Towns in great Haſte; to *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Nola*, and every where animated them to take up Arms, and revenge themſelves on the *Romans*. He was ſeconded by *C. Melonius*, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, but chiefly by *Quintus Sertorius*, an excellent General, who had joined that Party to be revenged of SYLLA, for having made him loſe his Election, when he ſtood for the Tribuneſhip. Theſe Senators, by their Intrigues, ſtirred up the Reſentment of the Confederates. The War was reſolved upon in moſt Towns; the Flame ſoon became general; and CINNA, at the Head of this new Party, began to raiſe Men and Money. The Senate, informed of his evil Deſigns, paſſed Sentence upon him. He was declared fallen from his Right of a Citizen; deprived of his Dignity of Conſul; and, in his Room, they elected *Lucius Merula*, a Prieſt of *Jupiter*, and one of the beſt Men in the Commonwealth.

Cinna declar'd an Enemy. Tear of Rome, 666.

CINNA's Fury increaſed upon the hearing of this Sentence. His Spirit, naturally proud and fiery, conceived none but deſtructive Projects againſt his Enemies. But as he had Occaſion for an Army to maintain himſelf, he reſolved to gain a Body of *Roman* Forces, then encamped near *Capua*, to his Party.

He haſtned to that Camp, and, before they had heard of his Depoſal, he directed himſelf to ſome Military Tribunes, whom he artfully gained and brought over to his Intereſt. Thoſe Officers, in Conjunction with him, called the Army together. The Soldiers were at firſt ſurprized to ſee the Conſul appear there without his Lictors, Faſces, and other Tokens of the Conſular Dignity: When

War with Cinna.

CINNA

CINNA addreſſing himſelf to them; "You ſee "(ſaid he) in my Perſon, a ſtrange and unheard- "of Precedent of the Senate's Tyranny. You "had made me your Conſul; the People of *Rome* "had conferr'd that Dignity on me by their "Votes; and the Senate deprives me of it, with- "out hearing what I can ſay for my ſelf, and "even without having conſulted the People. Af- "ter ſuch an Attempt, What can you expect "will become of your Liberties, your Rights, "and your Votes? And it is on Account of thoſe "very Votes, whoſe Numbers I had reſolv'd to "augment, to maintain your Authority, that I "ſuffer theſe Injuries. Had I been leſs attach'd "to the Intereſt of the People, I had ſtill been at "the Head of the Senate, and you had ſtill ſeen "me in your Tribunal with all the Badges of my "Dignity; whereas I preſent my ſelf now as a "Supplicant, and as an unfortunate attainted "Man, without Country, without Houſe, with- "out Domeſtick Gods, forc'd to wander as "Chance directs, or to hide my ſelf in a Coun- "try where I have a Right to command.

At the ſame Time he tears his Robe, like a Man penetrated with the utmoſt Grief: He calls on the Gods, Avengers of Injuſtice, and throws himſelf on the Ground, ready to run himſelf through with his own Sword, and as if he had reſolv'd not to out-live his Diſgrace. The Soldiers, mov'd at this ſad Spectacle, raiſe him up, and carry him back to the Tribunal. Every one encourages him; they appoint him Lictors, and reſtore him the *Faſces*; and the Army, gain'd by its Officers, acknowledge him for their Conſul and General, and take an Oath of Fidelity to him.

App. Alex. idem. ibid. c. 2.

CINNA, whom they had hitherto deſpis'd at *Rome*, now became formidable; and the Deſertion of that whole Army was taken for the Beginning of a Civil War. The two Conſuls, *Octavius* and *Merula*,

Merula by Order of the Senate, rais'd immediately new Forces. Some Troops were taken into the Service from thoſe Confederates who had not embrac'd CINNA's Party; and at the ſame time they recall'd *Cn. Pompeius*, Father of POMPEY the Great. He then commanded a Body upon the Coaſts of the *Ionian* Sea, and he came to *Rome*, encamping before the *Colline* Gate, to cover the City. But the Commonwealth got but little Advantage by him, ſince that General carried himſelf ſo artfully betwixt both Parties, in SYLLA's Abſence, that it was never known which Side he favour'd. May be, he even ſought to raiſe himſelf upon the Ruin of Both; which afterwards made him equally odious to both Parties.

In the mean time, CINNA's Party grew daily ſtronger, many Senators going to his Camp; and News was brought at the ſame time, that *Caius* MARIUS and his Son were upon the Road thither. That famous Leader of that Party had till then liv'd as an Exile in the little Iſland of *Circinna*, upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, whither he had fled with his Son, and ſome *Roman* Senators, who follow'd his Fortune. *Marius joins Cinna.*

We have ſeen, that SYLLA had drove him out of *Rome*; and that after his Flight, he had been proſcrib'd, and a Price ſet upon his Head. *Caius* MARIUS, upwards of ſeventy Years of Age, after ſix Conſulſhips, which he had exercis'd with as much Authority as Glory, ſaw himſelf reduc'd to that Extremity, as to be forc'd to fly from *Rome* on Foot, without either a Friend or a Servant to accompany him in his Flight. After having walk'd ſome way in this deplorable Condition, he was forc'd, to avoid SYLLA's People that purſu'd him, to throw himſelf into a Moraſs, where he lay the whole Night ſunk and buried in the Mud up to his Neck. He got out of it in the Morning at Break of Day, endeavouring to gain the Sea-ſhore, in *An Account of Marius's firſt Flight.*

hopes to meet with ſome Veſſel that ſhould help him to get to *Italy*. But being known by ſome People of *Minturnæ*, he was ſtopp'd: He was carry'd into that Town with a Rope about his Neck, all naked and muddy. The Magiſtrate, in Obedience to the Decree of the Senate, ſent to him immediately a publick Slave, a *Cimbrian* by Birth, to put him to Death.

Plut. in Mario.

MARIUS ſeeing that Slave enter his Priſon, and judging of his Errand by a naked Sword, which he held in his Hand, ſaid to him with a ſtrong Voice, *Thou* Barbarian, *Can'ſt thou have the Aſſurance to aſſaſſinate* CAIUS MARIUS? The Slave, frighted at the Sound of a Name ſo terrible to his Countrymen, throws down his Sword, and flies out of the Priſon in a very great Diſorder, and crying out, *It was not in his Power to kill* MARIUS. The Magiſtrates of *Minturnæ* look'd upon the Diſorder and Fright of that Slave as an Act of Heaven, which watch'd for the Preſervation of that great Man; and mov'd with pious Sentiments, they ſet him free again: "Let him go (ſaid they) wan-"dering where his Stars will guide him, and let "him undergo the Sentence of the Senate any "where elſe but here. We only ſupplicate the "Gods to forgive us, if a ſuperior Authority for-"ces us to drive out of our Town the Man, who "formerly ſav'd all *Italy* from the Incurſion of *Bar-*"*barians*." Thoſe of *Minturnæ* did even ſupply him with a Veſſel, which at firſt carried him into the Iſland of *Ænaria*, where he met with a Senator of his own Party, call'd *Granius*, and ſome more of his proſcrib'd Friends, who acquainted him, that his Son had taken Refuge in the Court of *Mandreſtal*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hiempſal* King of *Numidia*; which determin'd MARIUS to paſs into *Africa*. The ſtormy Weather, or as ſome ſay, want of Water, oblig'd him to put in and go on Shore upon the Coaſt of *Sicily*; and there he met with

with new Dangers. Scarce had he ſet his Foot upon the Shore, when a *Roman* Quæſtor, who had the chief Command in that Country, and who by mere Chance was upon the very Spot at that time, offer'd to ſeize him. They came to Blows, and MARIUS did not eſcape this Danger, but with the Loſs of ſixteen of his Men, who made a Stand juſt upon the Shore, whilſt others help'd him to go on Board. After ſome Days Sail he arriv'd in *Africa*, and landed near *Carthage*. *Sextilius* commanded in that Province as Prætor; and as MARIUS had never diſoblig'd him, he flatter'd himſelf that he would not enquire after him, nor diſturb him in his Retirement; but that he ſhould find a Refuge where he might recover himſelf of the great Fatigues of the Sea. But ſcarce had he been there a few Days, when he ſaw a Lictor coming, who ſignify'd to him the Order he brought from the Prætor, that he ſhould depart his Government, threatning to proſecute him as an Enemy of the *Roman* State, if he abode there any longer. MARIUS, pierc'd with Grief, and fill'd with Reſentment that he could not find one little Corner of the Earth where he might be ſafe, after having ſeen himſelf in a manner Maſter of the whole World, was looking on the Lictor with Diſdain, and in a deep Silence, when being preſs'd to return him Anſwer: *Go and tell your Maſter*, ſaid he, *that you have ſeen* CAIUS MARIUS *baniſh'd his Native Country, ſitting upon the Ruins of* Carthage; as if by the Compariſon of his own Misfortunes with the Fall of the mighty Empire of *Carthage*, he deſign'd to remind the Prætor of the Uncertainty of the greateſt Fortunes. He went afterwards on Board, notwithſtanding the Badneſs of the Weather, and Rigor of the Seaſon; and he ſpent Part of the Winter in his Ship, wandring in thoſe Seas, waiting for the Return of one of his Servants, whom he had ſent to his Son in *Numidia*, that he might get Leave for him to retire likewiſe

into the Dominions of *Mandreſtal*. But he was much ſurpriz'd, when he ſaw him arrive himſelf, and heard that he had luckily eſcaped from an Aſylum, which was become a Priſon to him. That barbarous Prince had at firſt received him with all the Marks of Reſpect which all Kings uſed to ſhow the *Romans*, and which were due above all to the great Name of MARIUS, ſo famous all over *Numidia*. But having underſtood how Matters went, he had reſolv'd to retain the Son as an Hoſtage, which Fortune had ſent him, and to make himſelf a Merit of it with the Party that ſhould prevail. And though to all outward Appearance, he ſtill uſed him with the ſame Reſpect and good Manners, young MARIUS ſoon perceiv'd that he was a Priſoner, and that *Mandreſtal* caus'd him to be accompanied every where by a great Number of *Numidian* Nobles, who never loſt Sight of him, not ſo much to do him Honour, as to be a Guard upon him. Luckily the young *Roman* had found the way to the Heart of one of the King's Wives. Love, in the Shape of Compaſſion, made that Princeſs as it were a Sharer in his Misfortunes; and notwithſtanding her ſecret Paſſion, ſhe was generous enough to procure him the Means of eſcaping. He came to his Father, as we have ſaid; and MARIUS, inform'd what was doing at *Rome* by a Meſſenger from CINNA, reſolv'd to haſten to his Army, to endeavour to raiſe his Party again.

Plut. in Mario.

He took Shipping again, and after ſome Days ſailing he landed on the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, whence he ſent to offer his Services to CINNA, in the like manner as a private Citizen would have done to his Conſul. CINNA hearing this great News, imparted it immediately to *Quintus Sertorius*, one of his Lieutenants, and aſk'd his Advice. *Sertorius*, who was a great Commander, but wiſe and moderate, and who dreaded the rough and revengeful Temper of MARIUS, was not of Opinion that he

App. Alex. l. 2. c. 16.

ſhould be receiv'd in the Army. He remonſtrated to CINNA, that he was powerful enough to triumph alone over his Enemies; that no ſooner ſhould MARIUS be at the Head of the Army, but all the Authority would of courſe devolve upon Him; that he would rob him of the Honour of all the glorious Succeſſes; and beſides, that he was a Man in whom it was not always ſafe to confide. CINNA own'd all this to be very juſt and ſolid: "But (ſays he) which way can I ſend back a Man "whom I have my ſelf invited to come to my "Army, and to join his Reſentments with ours "againſt our common Enemies? Since it is You "(replied *Sertorius*) that have call'd him in, there "was no need of this Conſultation; and nothing "more is left for you to do, after you have join'd "with him, but to watch his Conduct as narrowly, as you do the Deſigns and Undertakings of "your declar'd Enemies. Plut. in Sert.

CINNA, after this ſecret Conference, wrote to MARIUS, inviting him anew to come to his Army: He ſtiled him Proconſul in his Letter, and he ſent him Lictors, and all the other Ornaments of a Proconſul. MARIUS came to CINNA's Camp; but he ſent back the Lictors, and all other Marks of the proconſular Dignity, as not agreeing with his preſent Circumſtances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old Gown; his Hair and Beard rough; he walk'd ſlow, and like a Man quite oppreſs'd with his Misfortunes. But through the Diſguiſe of that doleful Countenance, ſomething ſo fierce was diſcern'd in his Viſage, that he rather created Terror, than mov'd Compaſſion. Marius *in* Cinna's *Army.*

It was no ſooner known at *Rome*, that MARIUS was return'd to *Italy*, with a Deſign to make War therein, but more than five Hundred Citizens went to meet and join him. He then travell'd through all *Italy*, viſited every Town, and proclaim'd that he took up Arms with no other View, than *Advantages of* Marius's *Party.*

than to get their Citizens receiv'd into the Ancient Tribes, and into the Body of the Commonwealth. The People, allur'd with this Expectation, gave him Money and Troops. A great Number of *Roman* Soldiers, who had formerly ſerv'd under him, came and offer'd him their Service. To increaſe his Army ſtill more, he proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet, that he would make all ſuch Slaves Freemen, as ſhould come under his Banner. A great Number came in thereupon, to whom he caus'd Arms to be diſtributed; and he choſe the moſt likely amongſt them to make up his Guards.

CINNA and MARIUS, thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to beſiege *Rome*, march'd up to it without the leaſt Obſtacle. CINNA, and *Carbo* one of his Lieutenants, encamp'd on the Banks of the *Tyber*, *Sertorius* above it, and MARIUS near the Seaſide. Their Deſign was to prevent the City from being ſupply'd with Proviſions. *Cn. Pompeius* indeed, had a conſiderable Body of Forces, which might have made the City eaſy on that Account; but the Conduct of that General was ſo equivocal, his Meaſures ſo much ſtudied, and his Deſigns ſo dark, that there was no depending on his Aſſiſtance. He was a little while after kill'd by a Flaſh of Lightning; and it was obſerv'd, that they were as well pleas'd at his Death in the City, as in the Enemy's Camp. The Conſul *Octavius* was oblig'd to take his place. No body doubted of his Integrity, nor his good Intentions; but he was an unexperienc'd Soldier, and ſucceeded a great Commander. He was even rather a good Citizen, than a Man fit to govern; ſcrupulouſly attach'd to a fearful Obſervation of the Laws, and a Stranger to that Maxim, that when the Welfare of a Country is at Stake, its Governors ought to place themſelves even above the Laws. He was blamed for refuſing the Help that the numberleſs Slaves in *Rome* proffered him: He ſaid coldly, that his

Cn. Pompeius *kill'd with Lightning*

his Officers who preſſed him to arm Them for the Defence of the City, that he would never grant the Prerogative of Citizens to Slaves, when he had given his Advice for taking it from *Caius* MARIUS; and that it would be a Violation of thoſe very Laws, for the Defence of which he had taken up Arms. Plut. in Mario.

CINNA and MARIUS, in the mean time, ſtreightned *Rome* very much, and the very Army of *Octavius* was in a manner beſieged. It was impoſſible to recall SYLLA, now at too great a Diſtance, and having his Hands full in the remoteſt Parts of *Aſia*, againſt *Mithridates*. So that the Senate could have recourſe only to a Body of Forces commanded by *Cecilius Metellus*, Son of him who had been ſtiled *Numidicus*, who was then making War upon the *Samnites*, a courageous People, always Enemies of the *Roman* Name, and who obſtinately ſuſtained the Remains of the Confederate War, which we mentioned before.

The Senate, knowing the Ability and Courage of that General, ſent him Orders to terminate that War upon as honourable Conditions as poſſible; to march his Army immediately back to relieve his Country; and, if he could not clap up a Peace, even to leave his Troops under the Command of his Lieutenants, and to come himſelf to aſſiſt the Conſul in his Camp. * *Metellus* hereupon ſends to the Generals of the Enemies to make Propoſals; but as in the Treaty he always would preſerve the Dignity of the *Roman* Name, MARIUS arrived whilſt the Negotiation was carrying on ſlowly, and offer'd the *Samnites* ſuch advantageous Conditions, that they declared in his Favour; ſo that *Metellus*, deſpairing of concluding that Peace, left his Forces to his Lieutenants, and went himſelf to *Octavius*'s Camp. App. Alex. l. 1. c. 16. Plut. in Mario.

The Soldiers of that Conſul, who deſpiſed Him as much as they valued *Metellus*, demanded the latter Metellus's *wrong Policy.*

latter loudly for their General; and openly declared, that as ſoon as they ſhould have ſo brave a Man at their Head, they ſhould not fear repulſing all the Efforts of their Enemies, and ſaving *Rome* and the Commonwealth. But *Metellus*, as modeſt as he was brave, refuſed thoſe ſeditious Applauſes with Indignation; he upbraided the Soldiers with want of Diſcipline; and this he did with ſo much Severity, that moſt being provoked at his Uſage, went over to MARIUS. Which ſhews, that in a Civil War, the Heads of Parties can never too tenderly manage Soldiers whom their own Example makes mutinous, and who don't think they are fighting againſt their Country, ſo long as they obey Generals, and liſt into Troops, of their own Nation.

Diſorder in Rome. MARIUS, to make the Diſorder in *Rome* ſtill greater, proclaimed near the Walls of that City, that he would ſet all thoſe Slaves free, who ſhould come to ſerve in his Army; which every Day drew a great Number of them thither. The common People, on the other hand, who will have Bread, come whence it will, did loudly complain, that the Senate, for their own private Intereſt, kept up a War, which endanger'd their Wives and Children to ſtarve. Even the greateſt Number of thoſe Senators, who at firſt appeared the moſt zealous, did now preſerve but a cold, tho' ſeeming Reſpect for the Party. And as it is rare to meet with much Faith in a Civil War, becauſe of the mutual Ties between the two Parties, nothing elſe was ſeen but Deſerters and ſecret Negociators going to and fro between the City and the Camp, to make their private Agreements.

App. id. ibid. *Deputies ſent to Cinna.* The Senate ſeeing its Party and Authority daily declining, and fearing a general Inſurrection, thought it time to come to a Parley. Deputies were ſent to CINNA to make him ſome Overtures of Peace. CINNA, before he would hear them ſpeak,

to aſk, Whether they had Orders to acknowledge him for one of the Conſuls of the Commonwealth; or whether they deſigned to treat with him upon the Foot of a private Perſon? The Deputies, having no Inſtructions touching ſo nice a Point, returned to the City for freſh Orders. The Senate, puzzled at CINNA's Queſtion, ſcarce knew what Courſe to take. It ſeem'd unfeaſible to depoſe ſo honeſt a Man as *Merula*, who had been raiſed to that Dignity without ſo much as putting up for it. On the other hand, the People, preſs'd by Hunger, called loudly for Bread; and it was to be feared, would let the Enemy into the City. *Merula*'s Generoſity help'd the Senate out; of himſelf he laid down the Conſulſhip, and by his Demiſſion, the Senate, being free of their laſt Obligation, ſent new Deputies to CINNA, as to a Conſul of the *Roman* State. CINNA received them in his Tribunal, with all the Tokens of the firſt Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth. The Deputies invited him, in the Name of the Senate, to enter *Rome*, and into the Functions of his Dignity; and ſtipulated no other Condition with him, than that he would be pleaſed to ſpare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, and to take an Oath, that he would put none of them to Death but according to Law, and conformably to the uſual Courſe of Juſtice. CINNA refuſed to take that Oath; but he proteſted, that he would never give his Conſent to the Death of any Citizen. He even ſent Word to the Conſul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiſs to retire ſomewhat from *Rome* till All was ſettled peaceably. MARIUS was ſtanding next to CINNA's Tribunal; he did not ſpeak to the Deputies; but his Silence, a fierce Look, and his Eyes ſparkling with Rage, told them ſufficiently, that that Man, always furious in his Revenge, breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter.

Merula lays down the Conſulſhip.

Cinna is recognized Conſul.

Metellus,

Metellus, ſeeing the Affairs of *Rome* deſperate, would not enter the Town. He rather choſe to baniſh himſelf from his Country, than to own CINNA's Authority; and he retired into *Liguria*, towards the Sea-Side. *Octavius*, on the contrary, proteſted, that ſince he was Conſul, he would not quit the City: He placed himſelf in his Conſular Habit on his Tribunal, ſurrounded with his Lictors; and there he reſolved to expect whatever Fate the Enemies ſhould aſſign him.

Cinna and Marius re-enter Rome.

CINNA and MARIUS advanced to the Gates of *Rome* at the Head of their Forces. CINNA enter'd firſt, accompanied with his Guards; but MARIUS halted at the Gate, and, when his Friends intreated him to enter, he told them, That ſince he had been baniſhed by a publick Decree, it was neceſſary he ſhould be recalled by a like one. That cruel and ſavage Man ſtill made a Shew of bearing Reſpect to the Laws. They were obliged, in Compliance with him, to call the People together in the *Forum*; but ſcarce had two or three of the oldeſt Tribes given their Votes, when he, impatient to ſatisfy his cruel Temper, and thinking the Ceremony too long, threw off the Maſk, and fell upon the City with a Band of his Guards, murthering ſuch as he had named to them, where-ever they found them. *Caius*, and *Lucius Julius*, *Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *C. Numitorius*, *M. Bebius Craſſus*, all Senators of great Note, were murder'd in the Streets, and the firſt that were ſacrificed to MARIUS's Reſentment. He cauſed their Heads to be carried and laid upon the *Roſtrum*. And, as if he deſigned to purſue his Revenge even beyond Death, he order'd that their mangled Bodies ſhould be left in the Streets to be devoured by Dogs.

Marius's Cruelty.

Proſcription of Cinna and Marius.

Of the two Conſuls, *Octavius* was killed on his Tribunal, contrary to *Cinna*'s Promiſe; and *Merula*, knowing he was proſcribed, had his Veins opened himſelf, to rob his Enemy of the cruel Pleaſure of

determining the kind of his Death. But as he was a Prieſt of *Jupiter*, and that, by the Laws of Religion, it was not lawful for Perſons of that Character to die with the Mitre on their Heads, they found, after his Deceaſe, a Writing, expreſſing, that before he died, he had had the Precaution to lay down that ſacred Ornament, that he might not (ſaid he) profane it with his Blood. *Marcus Antonius*, whoſe ſheltering-place had been diſcover'd by MARIUS his Guards, was murder'd next. He was a noted Senator, of a *Plebeian* Family, and who pretended to derive his Origin from one *Anthon*, Son of *Hercules*; but his Family was become more illuſtrious from this Senator, who had been Conſul and Cenſor, and was reputed the beſt Orator of his Time. *Quintus Catulus*, another Conſular, and famous for his Victory over the *Cimbri*, in which he ſhared with that Tyrant MARIUS, having underſtood that he was proſcribed, ſhut himſelf up in a Room, and there ſtifled himſelf with the Vapour of Charcoal, which he had ordered to be kindled there. *Rome* ſaw every Day ſome of her worthieſt Citizens periſh, whom MARIUS's Ruffians murdered without any Mercy. That furious Band of Slaves, whom he had made the Inſtruments of his Vengeance, did nothing elſe but murder the Heads of Families, plunder their Houſes, raviſh the Women, and carry off Children. At MARIUS's leaſt Nod, they ſtabbed ſuch as came before him: They had even Orders to kill all thoſe on the Spot, to whom he did not return their Salute; ſo that his very Officers and Friends never came near him but in Fear, and uncertain of their Fate.

Marius's *Rage againſt* Sylla.

Amidſt ſo much Bloodſhed, MARIUS uſed to complain that the chief Victim had eſcaped him, and that his Vengeance was imperfect, ſince he could not extend it to SYLLA himſelf: But that General was both too diſtant and too powerful to have

any

any thing to fear from the Cruelty of his Enemy. The Tyrant, to give Vent to his Rage, endeavoured to hurt him in what he knew the moſt ſenſible to him. He cauſed his Wife *Metella* to be ſtrictly enquired after, who was a Daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, as likewiſe his Children, to put them to Death. It was by a mere lucky Accident they eſcaped the Fury of that Monſter. The principal Friends of SYLLA got them out of *Rome*, and conducted them as far as his Camp. MARIUS, enraged at their Flight, extended his Vengeance upon the moſt inſenſible and inanimate Things. He cauſed his Enemy's Houſe to be razed, and his Goods to be confiſcated; and, whilſt SYLLA was adding large Provinces and whole Kingdoms to the *Roman* State, MARIUS was not aſhamed of getting him declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth. The Senate, who knew how to call any thing Law, and adapt their Decrees to the Pleaſure of the prevailing Party, made no Difficulty to declare him guilty. They revok'd all the Laws which they had paſs'd during his Conſulſhip; ready to do the ſame with MARIUS's Decrees, if the oppoſite Party got uppermoſt. CINNA and MARIUS procur'd themſelves, at the ſame Time, to be choſen Conſuls for the Year enſuing, thereby to ſtrengthen themſelves with the Authority of that Sovereign Magiſtracy, againſt the Reſentment and the Armies of SYLLA, whoſe Return into *Italy* they much dreaded. And, indeed, his Wife, Children, Friends, and all thoſe that were proſcribed, and had fled to his Camp, ſollicited and intreated him daily to turn his Arms againſt his own proper Enemies, and to free his Country of thoſe Tyrants, who ſo long had oppreſs'd it. But SYLLA, ſuperior to his private Reſentments, thought it more honourable to fight the Enemies of the State, than to ruin the Affairs of the Commonwealth, on purpoſe to indulge a precipitate and private Revenge;

The Senate's Weakneſs.

Year of Rome, 667.

Sylla's *prudent Conduct.* Plut. in Sylla.

and he reſolv'd to make an End of his Foreign Enemy before he turn'd againſt his Domeſtick Foes. In the mean time, he wrote a long Letter to the Senate, wherein, with a lively Style, he recited his Services, and the Injuries done him, and ended it with Complaints mix'd with Threats. "You know, "Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, all the Labours we "have undergone in different Climates, for the "Service of the Commonwealth. As Quæſtor in "*Numidia*, Military Tribune in the *Cimbrian* "War, Proprætor in the Confederate War, and "now as Proconſul againſt *Mithridates*, I have "always fought your Battles with Succeſs. I have "vanquiſhed in many Engagements, the Generals "of that powerful Foe of the *Roman* Name. I "have driven his Garriſons out of all *Greece*, and "hope ſoon to confine him to his ancient Bounds "of the Kingdom of *Pontus*." He added, that, for a Reward of his Services, the Senate, at the Inſtigation of his Enemies, had ſet a Price upon his Head; his Friends had been put to Death; his Wife and Children forced to fly from *Rome*, to ſave their Lives; his Houſe had been pulled down; his Eſtate confiſcated; and the Laws abrogated which had been enacted during his Conſulſhip. But that he hoped ſoon to return to *Rome*, at the Head of a powerful and victorious Army; and that then he would have his Revenge, both for his private and publick Injuries.

He writes to the Senate.

App. l. 1. c. 18.

This Letter, and the News daily arriving from Sylla's Army, that that General deſigned to turn his Arms againſt the two Conſuls, gave them a great deal of Uneaſineſs. Marius, loaded with Years, and his Body exhauſted with the Hardſhips ſuſtained in War, feared he ſhould be obliged to take the Field again; and was the more averſe to it, when he conſidered that he ſhould meet a powerful Enemy, a great General, always ſucceſsful, ſtill in the Vigour of his Life; who was expeditious, diligent

Cinna *and* Marius's *Fear.*

gent and unwearied; and who had driv'n him out of *Rome* once before.

Marius's *Death.*

He called to mind all his paſt Misfortunes, his Flight, his Baniſhment, the Dangers he had run by Sea and Land; and dreaded being expoſed to the ſame Hazards again in ſo advanced an Age. Theſe melancholy Thoughts continually beſet him, and made him incapable of Sleep. It was to procure That, and to divert thoſe diſmal Thoughts, that he abandoned himſelf to exceſſive Drinking. He endeavour'd to drown his Cares in Wine, and he never found Repoſe, but when he had loſt his Reaſon. This new kind of Life, and his great Exceſſes, gave him a Pleureſy, of which he died, on the ſeventeenth Day of his ſeventh Conſulſhip.

C. Piſo in Plut.

One Hiſtorian ſeems to intimate, that he haſten'd his own End; but doth not tell in what manner. He only relates, that MARIUS, one Evening after Supper walking with ſome of his Friends, did, for a long while, diſcourſe them upon the chief Events of his Life; and that, after he had related all that he had experienced and felt of good and bad Fortune, he added, that he thought it unwiſe, in a Man of his Years, to truſt any longer to ſo unconſtant a Goddeſs. That having ended that Diſcourſe, he embraced all about him with a Tenderneſs very uncommon to him; that he went thereupon to Bed, where he died a few Days afterwards.

The End of the Tenth Book.

BOOK

Book XI.

After the Death of Marius, C. Marius, *his Son, unites firmly with* Cinna *and* Valerius Flaccus. *This laſt, having been declared Conſul, croſſes over into* Aſia, *with an Army againſt* Mithridates, *pretending that the War which* Sylla *made upon him, was without the Approbation of the Senate.* Fimbria, *Lieutenant to* Valerius Flaccus, *kills his General.* Sylla *makes Peace with* Mithridates, *and marches againſt* Fimbria, *who, abandoned by his Soldiers, runs himſelf through with his Sword.* Sylla *returns into* Italy, *where he finds an Army much ſuperior to his own, and commanded by experienc'd Officers, headed by* L. Corn. Scipio, *and* C. Junius Norbanus, *the two Conſuls for that Year. With Craft and Money he debauches* Scipio's *Army to his Party; and triumphs over that of* Norbanus *by his Valour. Young* Marius *is choſen Conſul. He offers* Sylla *Battle, and loſes it. He ſhuts himſelf up in* Preneſte, *where his Antagoniſt beſieges him. After the Ruin of his Party,* Preneſte *is at laſt oblig'd to ſurrender to the victorious* Sylla. Marius *endeavours to get off by ſubterraneous Paſſages, together with a young* Samnite, *who commanded the Troops of his Nation in the Town; but having found no Iſſue out, thoſe two Generals mutually kill each other.* Sylla *declared perpetual Dictator; rids himſelf of his Enemies by cruel Proſcriptions. He diveſts himſelf of the Sovereign Power, and dies a private Man.* M. Emilius Lepidus, *who, during* Sylla's *Life, had been attached to the* Patrician *Party,*

Party, becomes the Head of the Plebeian, *after the Death of the Dictator. Having had the Government of* Gallia Ciſalpina *at the Expiration of his Conſulſhip, he raiſes an Army there, with which he comes and encamps cloſe by* Rome, *where he is defeated by* Catulus. *He retreats into* Sardinia, *and dies there.* Pompey *is ſent to* Spain, *where, after ſome ill Succeſſes againſt* Sertorius, *he has at laſt the Glory of ending that War, by cauſing* Perpenna's *Head to be cut off. An Army of Slaves, commanded by* Spartacus, *obtain'd ſeveral Victories over the* Roman *Legions. They are defeated by* Craſſus, *and their General kill'd. The Pyrate War ended by* Pompey.

Young Marius *ſucceeds his Father.*

THE greateſt Number of the *Roman* Citizens thought they came to Life the ſecond Time, when they heard MARIUS was dead. But their Joy was of a ſhort Continuance, for they ſoon perceiv'd that they had only chang'd their Tyrant. Young *Marius* inherited his Father's Cruelty, as well as his Power; and he celebrated his Funeral with the Death of many Senators, who had eſcap'd the firſt Fury of the Proſcription. This young Man enter'd into a cloſe League with CINNA, and perſuaded *Valerius Flaccus* into it, who was a Creature of *Marius*. They even got him named to ſucceed him in the Conſular Dignity; and this new Magiſtrate, to gain the Favour of the Multitude, propos'd a Law which declared Debtors free of their Debts, upon paying to their Creditors the fourth Part of the Principal. They afterwards conſulted how they ſhould prevent SYLLA's Return; and for that End, agreed to ſend an Army into *Aſia* againſt MITHRIDATES, under Pretence, that the War, which SYLLA had made upon him, was diſown'd by the Commonwealth; and that the Authority of that General, proſcrib'd by a Decree of the Senate, was illegal. *Cinna* made *Valerius* ſenſible, that it

Year of Rome, 667.

Valerius Flaccus *goes into* Aſia.

was their common Intereſt, that he ſhould take that Taſk upon him; and he flatter'd him with the Hopes, that SYLLA's Soldiers, ſeeing a Conſul in thoſe Parts, would ſoon deſert to his Eagles; or at leaſt, that his Army would keep that of SYLLA in ſome Awe, and retard their March to *Italy*, if he had the Boldneſs to attempt it, while he was ſo near him.

Valerius march'd from *Rome* with two Legions. He was a Man of a tyrannical and violent Spirit, proud of his new Dignity, cruel in puniſhing the private Soldiers, and odious to the Officers, whom he treated with too much Scorn: He was incapable of Gratitude, becauſe he aſcribed all the Complaiſance that was ſhown him, to the mere Fear of his Power and Reſentment. As CINNA was not much convinc'd of his Abilities, he appointed for his Counſellor and Lieutenant a Senator, call'd *Fimbria*, to aſſiſt him, being as much eſteem'd by the Army for his Valour, as *Valerius* was hated for his harſh Temper. Theſe two Chiefs were not long together before they fell out. The Lieutenant, ſenſible of the want of Abilities in his General, did not ſufficiently reſpect his Dignity; and the Conſul, no ways regarding the Merit of an Officer of ſo great Diſtinction as *Fimbria*, was for turning military Subordination into ſlaviſh Obedience. The Tranſition from this to Broils and Animoſities was eaſy; and ſcarce were they arriv'd in *Aſia*, but their Miſunderſtanding broke out, and ſhow'd it ſelf on occaſion of ſome Quarters which the Quæſtor of the Army and *Fimbria* contended for. The Conſul joyfully laid hold of this Opportunity to mortify his Lieutenant, and gave it for the Quæſtor. *Fimbria*, enrag'd at this Preference, threaten'd him publickly to quit the Service. *Valerius*, to ſhew him that he could do without him, gave his Poſt that Inſtant to another. This ſecond Affront made *Fimbria* quite mad. The Soldiers, who

Fimbria falls out with Valerius Flaccus.

App. Alex. de bello contra Mythrid. c. 53.

lov'd him, reſented the Injury that was done him; the whole Army roſe up in a tumultuous manner. *Valerius*, inſtead of uſing his Authority, and by his Preſence endeavouring to bring them to their Duty, fled in a cowardly manner; and that General deſerting his own Army, threw himſelf into a neighbouring Town, and hid himſelf at the Bottom of a Well. *Fimbria*, hurried away by his Paſſion, purſues him, enters the Town, diſcovers the Place where he had hid himſelf, gets him out of the Well, and with his own Hands kills his Conſul and General. To fortify himſelf againſt CINNA's Reſentment, he caus'd the whole Army to take an Oath to him, knowing that he ſhould at any time get himſelf declar'd guiltleſs, as long as he ſhould be at the Head of his Legions; and that the bare Apprehenſion of his going over to SYLLA's Party, would make them connive at his Crime.

The Conſul Valerius Flaccus *kill'd by* Fimbria.

As he was a Man of Courage, and a great General, he obtain'd conſiderable Advantages over *Mithridates* and his Lieutenants. He follow'd cloſe upon that Prince himſelf, whom, after a Defeat, he forc'd to abandon *Pergamus*, a City of *Troas*, and to retreat to *Pitane*, a ſtrong Place, where he could receive Supplies by Sea. *Fimbria* nevertheleſs beſieg'd him there; but having no Fleet to ſhut up the Harbour, he wrote to *Lucullus*, who commanded that of SYLLA, to ſail up to it, and to contribute, notwithſtanding the Difference of Parties, to the taking of the greateſt Enemy of the *Roman* State. MITHRIDATES had been infallibly undone, if this Lieutenant of SYLLA would have acted in Conjunction with *Fimbria*. But for all the Honour he would have gain'd by the taking of ſo great a Monarch, *Lucullus* did not think fit to undertake any thing without the Knowledge and Order of his General. Perhaps too he made a Scruple to have the leaſt Correſpondence with a Man who had ſo lately murder'd his Conſul. So that

Fimbria's *Advantages over* Mithridates. Idem App. Ibid. Vel. l. 2. c. 24. Mithridates *beſieg'd in* Pitane.

Mithri-

Mithridates not being obſtructed on the Sea-ſide, got out of the Place, and continued the War with various Succeſs againſt *Fimbria* and SYLLA too, though he had already enter'd upon a ſort of a Treaty of Peace with the latter.

SYLLA had in leſs than three Years re-taken all the Towns of *Greece*; defeated *Taxiles*, *Archelaus*, and *Dorylas*, Generals of MITHRIDATES, who commanded in *Bœotia* an Army of above a Hundred Thouſand Men, in two general Battles near *Cheronea* and *Orchomene*. And he vanquiſh'd thoſe formidable Armies with no more than fifteen Thouſand Men, and at a Time when he could hope for no Supplies from *Rome*, where MARIUS's Party reign'd. But as a proſperous War never fails of ſupplying the Victor with Neceſſaries, his Victories had brought into his Camp Plenty of every Thing that was good and valuable. His Army increas'd, Men came from all Parts to fight under his Banners, and *Aſia* was an inexhauſtible Treaſury to him. SYLLA, with thoſe Supplies, and at the Head of a victorious Army, might have carried his Conqueſts a great way, if his Uneaſineſs about the Tranſactions at *Rome*, and the Deſire of raiſing his Party again, had not outweigh'd in his Mind the Advantages which he might reaſonably promiſe himſelf from the Continuation of this War. He had firmly reſolv'd however not to quit *Aſia*, before he had forc'd his Enemy, either by Arms, or a Treaty, into the ancient Bounds of his Dominions. Whilſt he was thus deliberating with himſelf, *Mithridates*, who on his ſide was not leſs violently diſturb'd in Mind, and who fear'd that ſo great a General, and ſo fortunate in all his Undertakings, ſhould drive him quite out of *Aſia*, ſent private Orders to *Archelaus*, one of his Generals, to endeavour to clap up a Peace upon any Terms.

Sylla's Victory over Mithridates.

Negotiation between Archelaus and Sylla. Plut. in Sylla.

Archelaus made ſome Overtures hereof to SYLLA, by Means of a Merchant, who, on Account of Trade, had free Acceſs to both the Camps. A Negotiation was ſet on Foot inſenſibly, and the two Generals, after ſome Preliminaries ſettled, met in a Place they had agreed upon. *Archelaus*, not ignorant how much it imported SYLLA to be at Liberty to go for *Italy*, propos'd to him to unite his Intereſts with thoſe of MITHRIDATES; and that his Maſter would ſupply him with Money, Troops, and Shipping, to make War upon *Cinna* and MARIUS.

SYLLA, without ſeeming to reſent ſuch Propoſals, did on his ſide adviſe him to withdraw himſelf from the Slavery he liv'd in under an imperious and cruel Prince. He propos'd he ſhould take upon him the Title of King in his Government, and offer'd to procure him the Name and Advantages of an Ally, and a Friend of the *Romans*, if he would deliver into his Hands MITHRIDATES's Fleet, which he commanded. *Archelaus* rejected this Propoſal with Scorn, and gave the *Roman* General to underſtand, that he took it very ill of him to think him capable of ſuch a treacherous Action. When SYLLA taking upon him that Air of Greatneſs and Dignity, ſo natural to the *Romans*; "If "being but a Slave, (ſaid he) or at moſt but an "Officer of a *Barbarian* King, you think it a "baſe Action to quit the Service of your Maſter: "How durſt you be ſo bold as to propoſe the re- "linquiſhing the Intereſt of the Commonwealth "to ſuch a *Roman* as SYLLA? Do you take Things "to be upon the Level betwixt us? Have you "forgot my Victories? Have you forgot, that "you are the ſame *Archelaus*, whom I have de- "feated in two Battles; and whom, after the "laſt, I forc'd to go hide himſelf in the Moraſſes "of *Orchomene*?

Plut. in Sylla. App. in bello contra Mythrid. c. 16.

The Conditions on which Sylla grants Mithridates a Peace.

Archelaus, confounded with ſo haughty an Anſwer, was no longer the ſame during all that Negotiation.

gotiation. SYLLA got the Aſcendant of him, and like one animated by Victory, dictated the Terms of the Treaty. He told him, that if MITHRIDATES would have Peace, that Prince muſt quit *Aſia Minor* and *Paphlagonia*; reſtore *Bythinia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; pay the *Romans* two Thouſand Talents for the Charges of the War, and deliver ſeventy Gallies into their Hands. Upon theſe Conditions, SYLLA oblig'd himſelf, on his ſide, to get MITHRIDATES confirm'd by the Senate in the Poſſeſſion of all his other Dominions, and declar'd a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. The Treaty being concluded on theſe Terms, the Articles were ſent to MITHRIDATES. That Prince return'd them immediately back to SYLLA by his Ambaſſadors, who told him, That the King their Maſter would willingly ſign them, but that he could not part either with *Paphlagonia*, or his Gallies. SYLLA anſwer'd them ſternly; "You ſay, that MITHRI- Plut. in
"DATES will retain *Paphlagonia*, and refuſes to ſur- Sylla.
"render the Gallies to me; to me, who have Rea-
"ſon to expect he ſhould throw himſelf at my
"Feet, to thank me for not cutting off the Hand
"with which he has murder'd ſo many *Roman* Ci-
"tizens. But he may perhaps ſpeak in another
"Tone, if I can but meet with him." The Ambaſſadors, confounded at this Anſwer, ſaid not a ſingle Word. But *Archelaus* taking him by the Hand, intreated him to moderate his Anger. He only deſir'd Time of him to go to the King his Maſter, and aſſur'd him, that he would bring the Ratification of the Treaty with him, or kill himſelf in his Preſence.

Archelaus, having obtain'd SYLLA's Word for ſuperſeding Hoſtilities, made great Haſte; and being come before MITHRIDATES, he deſcrib'd ſo lively the Strength of the Enemy, and the Dangers he expos'd himſelf to by continuing the War againſt

ſo great a General, that his Maſter, though as inveterate as ever againſt the *Romans*, was ſoon made ſenſible, that it was his Intereſt to ſuſpend, at leaſt for a while, the Execution of his Deſigns; to wait till ſome favourable Incident freed him of SYLLA, and put him into a Condition to reſume the War with a better Proſpect of Succeſs. With that Intent he ſent *Archelaus* back again to SYLLA, to aſſure him, that he was coming himſelf with the Ratification of the whole Treaty; and only wiſh'd to have an Opportunity to diſcourſe him before he return'd to *Italy*. MITHRIDATES wanted this Interview, becauſe his Peace with SYLLA did not free him of the War which *Fimbria* was carrying on againſt him; and he wanted to conſult with him, in what manner he ſhould deal with this Adventurer, who did not acknowledge SYLLA's Authority.

Interview between Sylla *and* Mithridates.

SYLLA having agreed to this Interview, they met at *Dardanum*, a Town of *Troas*. MITHRIDATES approaching the *Roman* General, held out his Hand to him, as a Token of his Friendſhip. SYLLA, before he made any Return to his Civility, aſk'd him, whether he accepted of the Peace upon the ſame Conditions that *Archelaus* had agreed to? MITHRIDATES, aſtoniſh'd at the Pride and Haughtineſs of the *Roman* General, after having ſaid ſome Things to juſtify the War he had begun, declared, that he ratify'd the Treaty in all its Parts. Hereupon SYLLA embraced him, and preſented to him *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, whoſe Reſtoration he had ſtipulated in the Treaty. He aſſured him at the ſame Time, that he would ſoon put *Fimbria* out of a Condition to give him any further Uneaſineſs. They afterwards parted, having given each other ſome external Marks of Eſteem and Friendſhip. Things ſo inſincere among the Great, and chiefly between Enemies newly reconcil'd.

How-

However advantageous ſoever this Treaty was to the *Romans*, and chiefly to SYLLA; yet did his Forces murmur greatly againſt it. The Soldiers, who had not the ſame Reaſons, as their General, to return to *Italy*, complained that he did not finiſh overcoming an Enemy, who was no longer in a Condition to reſiſt him. *Sylla's Soldiers murmur.*

SYLLA, to juſtify his Conduct, made them ſenſible, that if he had rejected the Propoſals of Peace, MITHRIDATES, upon his Refuſal, would not have failed to agree with *Fimbria*; and that if thoſe two Enemies had joined their Forces, they would have obliged him, either to abandon his Conqueſts, or to venture a Battle againſt Troops much ſuperior in Number, and commanded by two great Generals, who might, in one ſingle Day, have wreſted from him the Fruits of all his Victories.

SYLLA then marched ſtrait againſt *Fimbria*, and marked out his Camp very near his. He then immediately ſent him a Summons, to ſurrender up to him, as Proconſul, the Command of an Army, which he had obtained by the blackeſt of Crimes, without the Conſent either of the Senate, or the *Roman* People. *Fimbria* ſent him word, That his Authority was equally illegal, and that every body was acquainted with the Decrees made againſt him at *Rome*. Then the two Generals applied themſelves to the fortifying of their Camps: But as the Soldiers of both Parties were of the ſame Nation, and moſt of the ſame City, inſtead of falling on each other when they met in Foraging, they ſaluted one another courteouſly. Some came even ſecretly from *Fimbria*'s Camp, unknown to their Officers, into that of SYLLA, to ſee their Friends and Kindred. Theſe Clandeſtine Viſits occaſioned at laſt *Fimbria*'s Ruin. SYLLA's Soldiers, inſtructed by their General, won thoſe of *Fimbria* by underhand Preſents. Theſe Soldiers, returning, corrupted others: Many taking Advantage *Sylla marches againſt Fimbria.*

of the Night, got ſafe out of their own Camp to that of the Enemy. The Deſertion became almoſt general: The Traitors, fearing no longer either Shame or Puniſhment, carried off their Colours, and by whole Companies deſerted to SYLLA. *Fimbria* finding himſelf betray'd, and abandoned by the greateſt Part of his Army, ſent to demand an Interview with SYLLA. But that General, inveſted with the Proconſular Dignity, not thinking it became him to put himſelf upon the Level with an Adventurer, only ſent one of his Officers to him, called *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* at firſt complained bitterly, that SYLLA ſhould refuſe a Conference to one of his Fellow-Citizens, which he had granted to a *Barbarian* King: And after having ſaid ſome Things to juſtify himſelf concerning the Murder of the Conſul *Valerius*, he aſked *Rutilius*, what Favour he might expect at SYLLA's Hands? The Officer anſwered him, that SYLLA, as Proconſul, demanded him to depart forthwith out of a Province, of which the Government belong'd to him. He added, with a Coldneſs mixed with Diſdain, That he ſhould have leave to go to the Sea-ſide to imbark ſomewhere. *Fimbria* judging from ſo harſh an Anſwer, that his Death was reſolved upon, anſwered him reſolutely, That he knew a ſhorter way; and immediately returning to *Pergamus*, and entring into the Temple of *Eſculapius*, he run himſelf through with his own Sword. But the Wound not proving mortal, he ordered one of his Slaves to diſpatch him, who having ſo done, immediately killed himſelf upon his Maſter's Body. The Remainder of his Forces liſted in SYLLA's Army; and that General leaving the Care of raiſing Money to *Lucullus*, and the Command of the Troops to *Murena*, began to march his Army towards *Italy*.

Fimbria *kills himſelf.*

Sylla *returns into* Italy. *Year of* Rome, 670.

As ſoon as the Two Conſuls, CINNA and *Carbo* heard of his Coming, they ordered young *Marius*, and other Heads of their Party, to raiſe Forces, and

and recruit the Legions; they required the Aſſiſtance of the *Samnites*, and form'd different Armies to oppoſe their common Enemy. CINNA was reſolved to meet him before he enter'd *Italy*, and to carry the Seat of the War into *Dalmatia*. He immediately cauſed ſome Forces to be tranſported thither; but the reſt of his Army refuſing to go on Board, it occaſioned a Mutiny in his Camp. During this Tumult, a Soldier, who was one of the chief Ringleaders, whom he would have put under an Arreſt, run him through with his Sword, and killed him. *Carbo* ſeeing himſelf deprived of his Colleague, under various Pretences, prevented the Election of another Conſul in *Cinna*'s Room, that he might be ſole Maſter of the Adminiſtration. He continued ſole Conſul till the End of that Year, when *Lucius Scipio* and *Norbanus* ſucceeded him.

Cinna kill'd by one of his Soldiers.

In the mean time, SYLLA continued his March; and, after many and long Fatigues, and different Imbarkations, he arrived at *Durazzo*, others ſay at *Patras*, where he found the Fleet that was to tranſport his Forces to *Italy*: But before he let them imbark, he called them all together. After having extolled the Valour and good Behaviour which every Soldier and Officer had ſhowed during the whole Courſe of the *Aſiatick* War; he gave them, by ſome Innuendo's, to underſtand, that he was ſomewhat ſuſpicious they would be apt to diſperſe as ſoon as they ſhould find themſelves on their Native Shore. But his Soldiers, moved to ſee him fear any Thing from them that was derogatory to the Love they bore their General, took a new Oath, promiſing to follow his Enſigns as long as the Civil War ſhould laſt. They even aſſured him, they would never violate the Military Diſcipline; and each offer'd to depoſit in his Hands, all the Gold and Silver they had gained

in

in the War againſt MITHRIDATES, as a Pledge of their Faith.

Sylla *lands at* Brunduſium.

SYLLA refuſed their Offer; he returned them Thanks, and gave them Hopes that they ſhould be nobly rewarded. He landed ſoon afterwards at Brindes. *Brunduſium*, without meeting with any Obſtacle from the Enemy. There the Army ſtay'd a-while, to recover themſelves of the Fatigues of the Sea, and then began their March in Search of the Enemy.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. c. 19.

Metellus Pius, who, under the Conſulate of *Octavius*, had retired into *Liguria*, during the Tyranny of old *Marius*, join'd SYLLA's Army with a handſome Body of Troops, which he eaſily raiſed by means of the general Eſteem he had acquired among the Soldiers. He commanded them, as a Proconſul, according to the Uſe of thoſe Days, which left that Title to all that had not been in *Rome*, from the Time of their being inveſted with that Dignity.

SYLLA, who bore no ſuperior Title, receiv'd him as his Colleague, though, on Account of the Superiority of his Forces, and the Glories of his Victories, he ſtill retained the chief Command. *Marcus Craſſus*, of the *Licinian* Family, proſcrib'd by *Marius* and *Cinna*, had joined him before. As ſoon as SYLLA enter'd *Italy*, he gave him a Commiſſion to go into the Country of the *Marſi*, to make new Levies there. But as he could not get thither without paſſing through ſeveral Places, where Parts of the Enemy's Army were quarter'd, he deſired a Guard thither. But that General, who was willing to accuſtom his Officers to bold Enterprizes, anſwer'd him ſhort: *I give you for Guards your Father, your Brother, your Kindred and Friends, who have been murder'd by our Tyrants, and whoſe Death I come to revenge.* *Craſſus*, moved at this Reproach, departed immediately, got ſafe through ſeveral Bodies of the Enemies Forces; rais'd

Sylla's *Anſwer to* Craſſus. Plut. in M. Craſſo.

rais'd a great Number of Troops by his Credit, and that of his Friends; came back with them to SYLLA, and ſhared with him all the Dangers, as well as the Glory, of this War. But of all the Succours, which came to him from ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, SYLLA was pleaſed with none ſo much as thoſe that *Cn. Pompeius*, afterwards Sirnam'd the *Great*, brought to him. He was not yet three and twenty Years old; yet, without any publick Character, did he raiſe an Army in *Picenum*, where his Father had a great many Clients and Friends; and he made almoſt all the Towns of that Diſtrict declare for SYLLA. His Army conſiſted of three Legions: *Brutus*, one of the Heads of the contrary Party, oppos'd his Paſſage: The two Armies engaged. *Brutus* his Horſe, moſt, if not all, of them *Gauls*, charged firſt. *Pompey* ſet his Cavalry againſt them; and advancing himſelf at the Head of a Squadron, kill'd, with his Javelin, the *Gaul* who commanded that foreign Body of Horſe. He then fell on, Sword in Hand, upon thoſe Squadrons terrified at the Fall of their Chief. That Cavalry being puſhed vigorouſly, was drove back upon their own Foot, who thereby were broke: *Brutus*, with all his Endeavours, could not get 'em to rally again; and *Pompey*, after having cut part of them down, and diſperſed the reſt, opened himſelf a Paſſage, and, at length, join'd SYLLA, in ſpite of two other Bodies that endeavoured to prevent him.

Pompey joins Sylla. Vel. Pat. l. 2. c. 18. *The Mark of Ancona.* Plut. in Pomp. *Battle between Pompey and Brutus.*

That General, ſeeing this young *Roman* arrive at the Head of a victorious Army, alighted off his Horſe, to do him the more Honour, and embraced him tenderly. All were aſtoniſhed, that SYLLA, the proudeſt among the *Romans*, ſhould give a Youth, who had yet no Seat in the Senate, the Title of *Imperator*, an Honour uſually beſtowed, in thoſe Days, on none but ſuch Generals of the Commonwealth, as had obtain'd ſome conſiderable Victory. But SYLLA, without heeding the Laws

Pompey named *Imperator.*

or Rules of Military Diſcipline, thought, that, in the Circumſtances he was then in, it was buying a Man of that Importance very cheap, ſince it coſt him only an empty Title of Honour: And, indeed, he had never been in more Want of Aſſiſtance. He had not brought back with him from *Aſia* above thirty thouſand Men; and his Enemies had * four hundred and fifty Enſigns of Foot in ſeveral Bodies, beſides their Cavalry; the whole commanded by fifteen General Officers, at whoſe Head were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus*, who, as Conſuls for that Year, had the chief Authority.

Sylla's Forces and thoſe of his Enemies.

Year of Rome, 670.

Theſe Armies even increaſed daily, through the Fear People were in of SYLLA's Reſentment. No Body doubted but he would take a ſevere Revenge, and ſhed a vaſt deal of Blood, if he could make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*. And although there were ſtill two Parties in the City, that of the Senate, and that of the People; a Fear of the Enemy without, and their common Intereſt, which is the ſureſt Bond of Union, made them all agree againſt a Power they dreaded; except the Friends and Adherents of SYLLA, who, to avoid the Cruelty of young *Marius*, ſought an *Aſylum* in the Camp of his Adverſary.

Negotiation between Sylla *and* Scipio.

SYLLA, as well vers'd in Intrigues and ſecret Negotiations, as in Military Affairs, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with ſo many different Armies, joined Craft to his Valour. *L. Scipio*, one of the Conſuls, was incamped very near him: He ſent to him, to make him ſome Overtures; and, in order to perſuade him to an Agreement, his Deputies repreſented artfully to him, That SYLLA was very much grieved at the Calamities to which the Commonwealth muſt be expoſed by a Civil War, which ever Party prevailed; and that he only deſired, in order to enable him to lay down his Arms with Honour, that his Eſtates, and the Title only of

* 200,000 *Men.*

the

the Dignities which had been unjuſtly taken from him, ſhould be reſtored to him.

A Truce.

Scipio, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to Peace, miſ-led by ſuch plauſible Propoſals, ſeemed ſatisfied with them, and only deſired Time enough to communicate them to his Colleague *Norbanus*, who commanded another Army. During that Interval, there was a Truce betwixt the two Camps. SYLLA's Soldiers, by Favour of this Truce, inſinuated themſelves into *Scipio*'s Camp, under Pretence of viſiting their Friends, and with Bribes brought over many to their Party. SYLLA had before taught his Soldiers that Trick, as we have ſeen above in *Fimbria*'s Affair: Which made *Carbo* ſay of SYLLA, That in him he had to encounter both a Fox and a Lion; but that the Lion gave him much leſs Trouble than the Fox.

Scipio deſerted by his Army.

SYLLA, being now ſure of a great Number of *Scipio*'s Soldiers, preſented himſelf before his Camp at the Head of twenty Cohorts. The Soldiers upon Guard, inſtead of charging him, ſaluted him, and called him their General, admitting him at the ſame Time into the Camp. He made himſelf Maſter of the whole, without drawing a Sword: And all this was ſo ſuddenly executed, that *Scipio* knew nothing of it, till he, together with his Son, was arreſted in his own Tent by SYLLA's Soldiers, who carried them both to their General. SYLLA would not ſuffer that any Harm ſhould be done to them. He, on the contrary, uſed all his Endeavours to gain the Conſul, and perſuade him to declare for him; but finding him unſhaken, he generouſly ſet him again at Liberty, giving him Leave to go where he ſhould think fit, on Condition that he ſhould not again take upon him the Command of any Forces againſt him.

Ap. Alex. de bell. civ. l. 1. c. 20. Plut. in Sylla.

Norbanus defeated.

This Stratagem having had ſo good Succeſs, he fancied he might deal as well with *Norbanus*, the other Conſul. He ſent Deputies to him to demand

mand a Conference: But *Norbanus*, grown wiſe by the Miſcarriage of his Colleague, detained thoſe Deputies, and marched his Army that Moment to SYLLA's Camp, with a Deſign to fall upon him unexpectedly. SYLLA had not Time ſufficient, upon the Approach of the Enemy, to range his Men in Order of Battle. Yet his Soldiers, no ways daunted, though they had ſcarce any Thing to direct them but their own Courage, fought with ſo much Reſolution, that *Norbanus*, after having loſt more than ſeven thouſand of his Men, was forced to make a haſty Retreat, very little different from a Flight. He threw himſelf into *Capua*, with the Remains of his Army, with an Intent to defend that Place, if SYLLA undertook to beſiege it.

Idem. App. ibid.

The Remainder of the Campaign was on both Sides employ'd in ſecret Negotiations. Each Party endeavour'd to debauch the Allies of the other. SYLLA, a great Maſter in that Art, ſent conſiderable Sums to the Countries at the very Foot of the *Alps*, in order to gain the *Ciſalpine Gauls*; and his Agents brought him thence a powerful Supply. His Enemies, on the other hand, ſent *Sertorius* to *Spain*, who, by his Valour, made himſelf Maſter of Part of thoſe large Provinces, which afterwards were a Refuge and Retreat to thoſe of that Party. Young *Marius* at the ſame Time determin'd the *Samnites* to declare in his Favour. Thoſe People rais'd forty thouſand Men, and gave the Command of them to *Pontius Teleſinus*, the ableſt Warrior in their Nation, and who had acquir'd much Honour in the Confederate War. So powerful a Succour was leſs occaſion'd by their Attachment to *Marius* his Party, than a Conſequence of their ancient Jealouſy of the Power of the Commonwealth: Being too weak to encounter the united Strength of *Rome*, they did not declare for one Party, but with a View to both that more eaſily; or, at leaſt, [illegible] neighbouring

Sertorius goes into Spain.

bouring State, that was become too powerful and terrible.

They ſoon after proceeded to the Election of new Conſuls at *Rome*. *Papirius Carbo* was choſe for the third Time; and young *Marius*, the Nephew, o-thers ſay the adopted Son of the great *Marius*, was appointed his Colleague, though he was not yet ſix and twenty Years of Age. They thought it adviſable to raiſe him to that ſupreme Dignity, notwithſtanding it was againſt Law and Cuſtom, in order to have at the Head of a Party a Perſon whoſe Name was held in great Repute, and the Memory of whoſe Father might keep the People attach'd to their Intereſt. The Armies took the Field as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit in the Spring. *Marius*, at the Head of eighty five Cohorts, offer'd Battle to SYLLA. That General, who had a ſecret Intelligence in the Enemies Camp, accepted the Challenge. Both Armies fought with great Bravery. The Soldiers of each Side were reſolv'd to vanquiſh, or to die; and Fortune had not yet declar'd for either, when ſome Squadrons of *Marius*'s Army, and five Cohorts of his Left Wing, that had been bribed with SYLLA's Money, caus'd a Confuſion by their unſeaſonable Flight, as they had agreed with SYLLA to do. Their Example drew many others after them; a general Terror ſtruck the reſt of the Army, and it was at laſt more a Rout than a Battle. Several Cohorts were cut to Pieces. The great Name of *Caius Marius*, the Father, did no ways leſſen the Glory of the Son. That young Man ſhow'd in Battle all the Abilities of an old experienced General, and the undaunted Courage of a young Officer. He rallied his Forces ſeveral Times, led them on again, and retir'd one of the laſt from the Field of Battle. At length perceiving that his whole Army was either cut to Pieces, or diſpers'd, he threw himſelf into *Preneſte*, a ſtrong Place, which had declared for his Party.

Carbo *and young* Marius *Conſuls. Year of* Rome, 671.

A Fight between Sylla *and* Marius, *who is defeated.*

App. ibid.

This

Young Marius *beſieged.*

This was the greateſt Overſight he could have been guilty of; eſpecially ſince he had yet ſeveral Armies that kept the Field, and were at his Command. SYLLA, flattering himſelf he ſhould put an End to the War, by taking the General, inſtantly inveſted *Preneſte:* He caus'd Lines, ſtrengthen'd with Redoubts, to be thrown up; and the Circumvallation being perfected, he left the Care of the Blockade to *Lucretius Ofella*, one of his Lieutenants, whom he had gain'd over from MARIUS his Party by his Management. SYLLA poſted ſome Troops at all the Defiles, thro' which Succours might be thrown into the Place; and incamp'd in ſuch a manner, that he cover'd at the ſame Time thoſe advanc'd Troops, and the Blockade.

Sylla *at* Rome.

He afterwards march'd with a Detachment towards *Rome*. The Favourers of MARIUS, frighten'd at his Defeat, had fled the City. SYLLA enter'd without any Oppoſition. The Inhabitants, famiſh'd and oppreſs'd with all the Calamities that attend a Civil War, open'd him the Gates. SYLLA, having made himſelf Maſter of the Place, called the People together, complained of their having ſuffer'd themſelves to be miſ-led by the Malice of his Enemies; and, after having expos'd to Sale the Goods of *Marius*'s Followers, he return'd to his Army, to try, by the taking of that Captain, to put an End to the Civil War. *Marius*, in Deſpair for having ſhut himſelf up in *Preneſte*, and deliver'd himſelf, as it were, into the Hands of his Adverſary, attributed the Cauſe of all his Misfortunes to a ſecret Correſpondence which SYLLA had kept up among his Adherents. He ſent an Order to *Brutus*, Prætor of *Rome*, to make away with ſuch as he ſuſpected; and the Prætor, in Obedience to that cruel Proſcription, caus'd *L. Domitius*, *Mutius Scævola*, the High-Prieſt and an excellent Lawyer, and *P. Antiſtius* to be ſtab'd as they came out of the Senate. People were aſtoniſh'd

Proſcription of young Marius.

aſtoniſh'd to find *C. Carbo*, Brother or Couſin to the Conſul, included in this Proſcription. It is probable, that MARIUS would not have order'd, nor *Brutus* dar'd to have executed that Command, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Conſul himſelf; at leaſt he ſhow'd not any manner of Reſentment at it. So true it is, that in the Heat of Civil Wars, the Ties form'd by Nature her ſelf, are too weak to unite thoſe whom Ambition or Intereſt have divided. App. Alex. l. 1.

Young Marius's Party defeated.

And indeed the Murder of *Carbo*, though by order of MARIUS, and, as it were, in the very Preſence of his Brother, did not hinder that Conſul from employing all his Induſtry to raiſe the Blockade of *Preneſte*. That Blockade was now become the grand Affair of the War. *Carbo*, having reſolv'd to throw Succours into the Place, fought a whole Day againſt SYLLA's Army, without ſucceeding in his Attempt. Whilſt they were engaged, *Marcius*, another General of MARIUS's Party, at the Head of eight Legions, attempted to force the Defileés in another Quarter. But he found *Pompey* in his Way, who repuls'd him, and cut Part of his Forces to pieces. *Metellus* had, ſoon after, the ſame Fortune againſt *Carbo* and *Norbanus*. Thoſe two Generals having join'd their Forces, and made a haſty March to come upon him unawares, reach'd his Camp in the Evening, which they immediately attack'd. But *Metellus*, who juſtly was reputed one of the beſt Commanders of his Time, made them ſenſible, that a good General is never to be ſurpriz'd. He had placed his Camp on a Ground ſurrounded with thickſet Vines, which ſerv'd him for Palliſadoes. *Carbo* and *Norbanus* attack'd his Camp with greater Heat than good Order. Their Soldiers, embaraſs'd in thoſe Vines, could not form themſelves into Battalions; and for that Reaſon were in ſome Diſorder, when they reach'd the Foot of the Intrenchments. *Me-*

tellus's Soldiers from the Top of thoſe Intrenchments, kill'd a great many with their Darts; and ſeeing them broke, they made a Sally, where a great many more were ſlain. The Darkneſs of the Night hid the Shame of thoſe that fled; and ſix Thouſand, that could not readily enough diſentangle themſelves out of thoſe Vines, ſurrender'd to *Metellus*. Another Legion that was near *Metellus*'s Camp, upon the News of that Defeat, followʼd their Example in ſpite of *Albinovanus*, who commanded it, and who alone return'd to *Norbanus*. But he did not long continue thus faithful. As if his Return was with no other Intent, than to betray his General in a yet more infamous Manner, he ſome time after invited *Norbanus* to a Banquet, together with his Lieutenants *C. Apuſtius* and *Flavius Fimbria*, Brother of him that kill'd himſelf in *Aſia*. He invited to the ſame Entertainment the chief Officers of that Party; and in the Middle of the Banquet, he cauſ'd them all to be murder'd, except the General, whom ſome Buſineſs had prevented from coming. After ſo baſe an Action, the Aſſaſſin went and ſurrender'd himſelf to SYLLA with all the Accomplices of his Crime. *Norbanus*, quite hopeleſs, after ſo many Misfortunes, and not longer knowing who to truſt, went on board a ſmall Smack, which carried him to *Rhodes*. SYLLA ſent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*: And whilſt the Magiſtrates were deliberating what to do in ſo nice an Affair, *Norbanus*, fearing to be deliver'd into the Hands of his Enemy, kill'd himſelf in the Middle of the publick Square.

Albinovanus's *treachery.*

App. ibid.

App. ibid.

Carbo *paſſes over into* Africa.

Carbo met with no better Fate: He again tried ſeveral times to give MARIUS an Opportunity of getting out of *Preneſte*, but always miſcarried. *Lucullus*, one of SYLLA's Lieutenants, who was return'd from *Aſia*, defeated Part of his Army near *Placentia*; and *Pompey*, near *Cluſium*, cut to pieces twenty.

I

Twenty Thouſand Men, that were left him after ſo many Encounters. The Conſul, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the Field, quitted *Italy*, and imbark'd to paſs over into *Africa*. But after having been toſs'd to and fro upon the Sea for ſome time, he fell into *Pompey*'s Hands, who, to cut up the Root of the Civil War, put him to Death. Of that great Number of Chiefs, that had follow'd MARIUS's Party, there remain'd only *Carinas*, *Martius*, and *Damaſippus*, who were yet at the Head of four Legions. Theſe *Romans*, being obſtinately reſolv'd to continue the War, join'd *Teleſinus*, General of the *Samnites*. They together agreed to make a laſt Effort, and either to periſh, or to relieve *Preneſte*. *Teleſinus* advanc'd boldly, with a Deſign to force the Lines. He had in his Army above ſixty Thouſand Men, all *Samnites*, and ſworn Enemies of the *Roman* Name, or *Roman* Soldiers, who could expect no Safety, but by the Defeat of the oppoſite Party. SYLLA, at the Head of a victorious Army, advanc'd to meet them; and he ſent Orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another Body, to follow *Teleſinus*, and to fall on his Rear, whilſt he ſhould attack him in Front. But whilſt theſe two Generals were making theſe Movements, *Teleſinus* outwitting them both, gave them the Slip; and by a Counter-March during the whole Night, advanc'd towards *Rome*, which he knew to be defenceleſs. His Army, in hopes to plunder that mighty City, march'd with ſo much Eagerneſs, that their Van was diſcover'd in the Morning from the Hills near *Rome*. Never was a Surprize equal to that of its Inhabitants. They ſaw themſelves juſt going to fall a Prey to an Army of Strangers, who, under Pretence that SYLLA had been admitted therein, would not fail of revenging their deſerting their Party (tho' really forc'd on both ſides) with the Maſſacre of all the Citizens, and Plunder of the whole Town.

Carbo put to Death.

Teleſinus's Policy and Valour.

Teleſinus ready to ſack Rome.

The Gates are immediately ſhut; the Men arm themſelves, and line the Walls with Engines and Archers; whilſt the Women, all in Tears, run to the Temples, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods. Fear and Diſorder increaſe, as *Teleſinus* comes nearer to the City. He was a ſecond *Hannibal* at the Gates of *Rome*, and already thought himſelf Maſter of it. He then pull'd off the Maſk; he no longer conceals that implacable Hatred which he bore the *Romans:* As much an Enemy to MARIUS as to SYLLA, his Deſign was to deſtroy *Rome*, and to bury the very laſt of its Inhabitants under the Ruins. He walk'd through all the Lines and Ranks of his Army; *We muſt*, ſaid he, *cut down that Foreſt, where thoſe ravenous Wolves take Shelter. Let Fire and Sword deſtroy all; ſpare nothing: Mankind can never be free, as long as any* Romans *remain alive.* His Troops, fir'd by ſuch Speeches, advance furiouſly. All the *Roman* Youth that were in the City made a Sally, under the Conduct of *Appius Claudius*; not ſo much to hinder the Approach of ſo powerful an Army, as to defer the Ruin of the City, and to give time to SYLLA to come to its Aſſiſtance. The *Romans* behaved themſelves like Men who fight for the Defence of their Country, in the Sight of their Fellow-Citizens, of their Wives, and of their Children. *Appius* was ſlain in this Action; and thoſe that fought under him could now expect no better Fate, conſidering the Inequality of their Forces, when ſeven Hundred Horſe were ſeen to enter *Rome*, whom SYLLA had commanded to haſten on a full Gallop, and throw themſelves into the City. They were no ſooner arriv'd, but they march'd out at another Gate, and join'd thoſe that were engag'd with the foremoſt of the *Samnites*. SYLLA was marching with all the Diligence which his Infantry would permit; and he was in the greateſt Agony and Concern, when he conſider'd that *Rome*, the Price of all

Plut. in Sylla.

Battle.

Sylla *relieves* Rome.

2

all his Victories, was in Danger of falling into the Hands of Strangers. At laſt he arriv'd about Noon, and encamp'd near the Temple of *Venus*. Hardly had he granted a few Minutes to his Soldiers to recover themſelves of their Fatigue, when he call'd them again to Arms, and regulated the Order of Battle. He gave the Command of the Right Wing to *M. Craſſus*. The Left he choſe for himſelf. Moſt of his chief Officers endeavour'd to perſuade him to put off the Battle till next Day. They repreſented to him, that on the Succeſs of this Conjuncture depended his whole Fortune; that his Troops fatigu'd by a haſty March, had occaſion to reſt, eſpecially being to fight againſt the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, warlike Nations, over whom the *Romans* never got any Advantage that did not coſt them very dear. But SYLLA, overrul'd by his Courage, order'd to ſound to Battle, and march'd directly againſt the Enemy. The Fight was equally bloody and obſtinate on both Sides, chiefly on the Left Wing, where he himſelf commanded. The *Samnites* fought with their uſual Valour, puſh'd his Forces, and broke them. Several Cohorts, and entire Legions, not able to bear the Shock, gave way, and fled. SYLLA haſtens to rally them; he preſents himſelf Sword in Hand before the Run-aways to ſtop them: But the Soldier, frighted, has no Regard to any Command; every one, to ſave his Life, endeavours to get into *Rome*. The Inhabitants, fearing leſt the Victor ſhould enter together with the Vanquiſh'd, ſhut the Gate on that Side, and let fall the Portcullis, which kill'd ſeveral Senators of SYLLA's Army. It is reported, that that General, in this imminent Danger, took out of his Boſom a Medal, or a ſmall Image of *Apollo*, which he conſtantly carried about him; and, as Danger and Fear uſually awaken Religious Sentiments, 'tis ſaid, that he made the following Speech to it, as

App. l. 1. Plut. in Sylla.

Tacitus *beats* Sylla.

to his Tutelar God: *O thou who haſt brought* Cornelius SYLLA *victorious out of ſo many Battles; Haſt thou conducted him through continual Victories, to the very Gates of his Native City, with no other End, than there to make him periſh with Shame?* He then rally'd thoſe of his Soldiers that had been ſhut out of the City-Gate. They, tho' frighted, yet forc'd by Neceſſity, fac'd the Enemy again. The Fight re-commenc'd with freſh Fury; nothing but Night parted them. SYLLA, diſconſolate at his ill Succeſs, and not knowing how things had faln out at the Right Wing, retir'd to his Camp.

It was late in the Night, when *Craſſus* ſent him word, that he had overcome the Enemy on his Side, and purſued them as far as *Antenna*; where, becauſe of the Night, he had been forc'd to encamp. SYLLA went thither by Break of Day; and after having given to his Lieutenant, and his Troops, all the Praiſes which ſo great a Service deſerv'd, he went to view the Field of Battle, which he found cover'd with more than fifty Thouſand ſlain. Among the reſt, they took Notice of the Body of *Teleſinus*, wherein were yet ſeen the Marks of that great Courage and Fierceneſs which he had ſhown during the Battle. Eight Thouſand were taken Priſoners, whom SYLLA inſtantly caus'd to be ſhot to Death with Darts. *Marcius* and *Carinas*, having been ſtopp'd in their Flight, had their Heads cut off; and SYLLA ſent them to *Lucretius*, as Proofs of his Victory, and with Orders to have them carried round the Walls of *Preneſte*. The Inhabitants and the Garriſon, having heard of this Defeat, and of the Flight of *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, and ſeeing themſelves without any Proviſions or Proſpect of Relief, open'd their Gates. MARIUS endeavour'd to make his Eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous Paſſages, together with a young Senator *nite*, Brother of *Teleſinus*: But having found all the Iſſues of them that open'd in the Country, guarded

Teleſinus *defeated by* Craſſus.

App. Ibid.

Sylla's *Cruelty.*

Preneſte *taken.*

Vell. l. 2. c. 27.

guarded by ſome of SYLLA's Soldiers, thoſe two Chiefs kill'd each other, that they might not fall alive into the Hands of their Enemy. SYLLA caus'd all the Inhabitants to be put to Death, except the Women and Children. Thoſe of the Town of *Norbe*, who, after a long Siege, and an obſtinate Reſiſtance, ſaw themſelves juſt going to experience the ſame Fate, ſet Fire to their Habitations, and then kill'd one another, not only that they might deprive the Soldiers of the Plunder, but alſo not to leave it in SYLLA's Power to diſpoſe of their Lives. The taking of this Place put an End to the Civil War; and SYLLA, victorious over ſo many different Enemies, entred *Rome* at the Head of his Troops. Happy had he been, if in Peace he had preſerved the Glory that he had now acquir'd in War, or if he had ceas'd to live at the ſame time he ceas'd to conquer!

Marius and his Companion kill each other.

Norbe ſacked.

SYLLA's Lieutenants made themſelves Maſters of all the Cities in *Italy*, and put ſtrong Garriſons in to all thoſe Places that had formerly declared for MARIUS. What was left of ſo many Armies, that had been oppos'd to SYLLA, ſent him Deputies, deſiring Quarter. He ſent them word, that he would ſpare the Lives of thoſe who ſhould make themſelves worthy of it, by putting their Companions to Death: A way of proſcribing entirely new, which oblig'd thoſe unfortunate Men to turn their Arms againſt each other. A great Number were deſtroy'd in this Manner. Six Thouſand, that eſcap'd this Maſſacre, came to *Rome*. SYLLA cauſed them to be ſhut up in the *Hippodrome*; and at the ſame Time ſummon'd the Senate to the Temple of *Bellona*, which was in that Neighbourhood. As he was naturally eloquent, he ſpoke of his great Exploits in very magnificent Terms. Whilſt all the Senate was hearkening to his Speech, his Troops, by his Command, entred the *Hippodrome*, and maſſacred the ſix Thouſand juſt mention'd.

Sylla's barbarous Cruelty.

Plut. in Sylla.

The Senate, unacquainted with his Orders, amazed at the Cry of thoſe unfortunate Men that were murdering, look'd aghaſt, thinking that he had delivered up the whole City to be plundered by his Soldiers. But SYLLA, without being moved, or altering his Countenance, told them coldly, they need not to be uneaſy at what they heard without; that it was only a Pack of Villains, whom his Soldiers were puniſhing by his Order. Thus he talked of the Troops of the contrary Party; and we are told, that in the next Aſſembly of the People, he declared with a ſevere and haughty Mien, that he deſigned to treat all his Enemies in the like Manner, and would not pardon one, of what Condition ſoever; and ſoon after, he cauſed the Names of forty Senators, and of ſixteen Hundred Knights, whom he proſcribed, to be put up in the Market-Place.

Sylla's Proſcription.

Two Days after, he proſcribed forty Senators more, and an infinite Number of the richeſt Citizens of *Rome*. He declared the Sons and Grandſons of thoſe that he had proſcribed infamous, and deprived of all their Rights and Privileges of Citizenſhip. By a publick Decree he ordained, That whoever ſhould protect or harbour one of the proſcribed, ſhould be themſelves proſcribed in their ſtead. He ſet a Price upon the Heads of all that were proſcribed, and promiſed *two Talents for the Murder of each of them. Slaves, that aſſaſſinated their Maſters, received the ſame Reward for their Treaſon; and, to the ſhame of human Kind be it ſpoken, Children were found ſo barbarous, as with their bloody Hands to claim that Reward for having murdered their own Fathers. *Lucius Catiline*, who, to poſſeſs his Brother's Eſtate, had cauſed him to be killed, deſired SYLLA, whoſe Adherent he was, that he would be pleaſed to ſet down that Brother, whom he had killed a long while before, among the attainted, that by that Stratagem he

Plut. in Sylla.

Cataline's Cruelty.

* 35,000 *Livres.*

might

ght palliate the Enormity of his Crime. SYLLA having granted him his Requeſt, *Cataline*, to ſhow him his Gratitude, went that moment to *Marcus* MARIUS, a Kinſman to the great MARIUS, killed him, and brought his Head to the publick *Forum*. While his Hands were yet beſmear'd with the Blood of that unfortunate Man, he entred the Temple of *Apollo*, which was near, and waſhed them in the luſtral Water, that he might add Impiety and Sacrilege to Murder and Aſſaſſination.

This cruel Proſcription did not reach only thoſe of MARIUS's Party. SYLLA, who counted a Man's Life for nothing, permitted his Friends and Officers with Impunity to revenge themſelves of all their private Enemies. Great Wealth became a Crime; and whoever had the Name of being rich, was not innocent. *Quintus Aurelius*, a peaceable Citizen, who had always lived in a happy Obſcurity, without being taken Notice of, either by MARIUS or SYLLA, perceiving to his great Aſtoniſhment, that his Name was down in the fatal Liſt, where the Names of the proſcribed were wrote, lamenting himſelf, ſaid, *Ah me, unhappy Wretch! It is my fine Houſe at* Alba *that cauſes my Death.* And a few Paces farther he was aſſaſſinated by a Ruffian who had undertaken to do it. Every Day freſh Numbers were proſcribed and murdered, and no body was ſure of living a Day. In this general Deſtruction, *C. Metellus* alone took Courage to aſk SYLLA in full Senate, When he deſign'd to put a Stop to the Miſery of his Fellow-Citizens? *We do not*, ſaid he to him, *ask you to forgive any of thoſe that you have reſolved ſhall die; but pray free us from an Uncertainty worſe than Death it ſelf, and let us know at leaſt, who it is you deſign to ſpare.* SYLLA, without ſeeming to take that bold Speech any ways amiſs, anſwered him very coolly, That he had not yet fixed the Number of thoſe he deſign'd to let live. But that as to

Metellus's *Courage.*

Plut. ibid.

Sylla's *Pride, Cruelty, and Avarice.*

to the others, he had at firſt proſcribed ſuch as his Memory preſented to him; that he reſerved to himſelf the Liberty of doing the ſame for the future, juſt as his Memory ſhould continue to ſuggeſt to him the Names of his Enemies. He afterwards proſcribed Towns, nay, whole Nations, inſtead of naming any private Perſons, as he did at firſt. He ſeized, by a Sort of Confiſcation, on all the Eſtates, Houſes and Territories of all the Towns in *Italy*, that had declared for MARIUS during the Civil War. He therewith rewarded his Soldiers, whom thereby he the ſtronger attached to his Fortune and Intereſt. But as thoſe Uſurpations, and ſeveral others to be mentioned hereafter, were not likely to be very laſting, thoſe that had the Benefit of them inſinuated to him, that he ſhould take upon him the Dictatorſhip, in order to give the Force of the Law, and a Colour of Right to the different Alterations he was making in the Republick.

prerogatives of a Dictator.

We have obſerv'd before, that after the *Romans* had aboliſhed Kingly Government, they yet had preſerv'd, in ſome Senſe, the Likeneſs of that Dignity in that of the Dictatorſhip. The Power of that Sovereign Magiſtrate was boundleſs. The Authority of the Conſuls, and other inferior Magiſtrates, except that of the Tribunes, were entirely ſuperſeded by it. He had Power of Life and Death over his Fellow-Citizens; he was free to raiſe Troops or diſband Armies whenever he thought proper, and without being bound to give Reaſons of his Conduct to any Body. Twenty four Lictors, carrying the Faſces and the Axes, walked before him when he went Abroad; and the General of the Horſe followed him every where. The Nomination of that Office was entirely in the Dictator, and he was in the Nature of his Lieutenant. In a word, the Dictator had all the Power and Show of a King. But, as he might have made a wrong Uſe of a Power ſo abſolute, and perhaps greater

greater than ever the ancient Kings of *Rome* had, no Body was raiſed to that ſupreme Dignity, but in the greateſt Dangers of the Commonwealth; as when it was attack'd by powerful Enemies, or was diſturb'd by dangerous inteſtine Commotions; and Care was taken never to inveſt any Body with that Power, ſo much fear'd by Republicans, for a longer Time than ſix Months at moſt. SYLLA, abſolute Maſter in *Rome*, would have it for an undetermined Time. And thus did the *Romans*, who had chang'd Kingly Government into the Republican, under Conſuls and Military Tribunes, relapſe again, after many Ages, under the abſolute Power of One: though SYLLA, to leſſen the Averſion Commonwealths Men muſt have to ſuch a Government, had maſked over a true Royalty with the leſs odious Title and Dignity of the Dictatorſhip.

Cicer. in Rulliana tertia. Id. l. 1. de Legibus.

But the *Romans* were too clear-ſighted, not to perceive, that under ancient and familiar Names there was ariſen a Power quite new, and inconſiſtent with Liberty. SYLLA being perpetual Dictator, or, to ſpeak more properly, the King and abſolute Sovereign of *Rome*, altered at his own Pleaſure the Conſtitution and Form of Government. He abrogated ancient Laws, created new ones, made himſelf Maſter of the Publick Treaſure, and in a deſpotick Manner diſpos'd of all the Eſtates and Fortunes of his Fellow-Citizens, whom he conſider'd upon the Foot of his other Conqueſts. *Craſſus* alone obtained the better Part of them. That Man, who was afterwards called the richeſt of all the *Romans*, was not aſhamed to aſk of him the forfeited Eſtates of the proſcribed, or to buy their Eſtates at very low Rates, when they were ſold publickly in the *Forum*. SYLLA, who was as liberal to his Friends, as he was hard and inexorable to his Enemies, took a Pleaſure in laviſhing the Treaſures of the Commonwealth upon thoſe who had devoted themſelves to his Fortune.

Sylla perpetual Dictator.

Plut. in Craſſo.

tune. But then he expected at their Hands an entire and blind Submiſſion. *Pompey*, by his Order, put from him his Wife, called *Antiſtia*, Daughter of the Senator *Antiſtius*, whom young Marius had put to Death; and was obliged to marry *Emilia*, Daughter in Law to Sylla, born of a former Marriage of his Wife *Metella* with *Scaurus*. It was by virtue of the ſame Sovereign Power which he exerciſed indifferently over all the *Romans*, that he ſtrove to compel *Julius Cæſar*, Nephew of Marius's Wife, to be divorced from his Wife *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Cinna*: But *Cæſar*, tho' but a Youth, had the Boldneſs to reſiſt him. He even preſented himſelf with a ſurprizing Confidence in the Aſſembly of the People, demanding to be declared Prieſt of *Jupiter*. Sylla not only cauſed him to be rejected, but reſolved beſides to proſcribe him. It was not without infinite Difficulties that his Friends obtained his Pardon; and as they told Sylla, that he could have nothing to fear from ſuch a Youth, it is ſaid, he anſwered, That in that Man, as young as he was, he could diſcern a great many *Marius*'s. The Relations and Friends of *Cæſar* hearing of this Reply, and knowing how much the Dictator hated all that had any the leaſt Relation with Marius, perſuaded him to leave *Rome*, whether he did not return till after the Death of Sylla.

Cæſar reſiſts Sylla.

From theſe Animadverſions on private Perſons the Dictator paſſed to the Civil Government, and the regulating of the Senate. He introduc'd into that Body three hundred Knights, to fill up the Room of that vaſt Number of Senators that had periſhed in the Civil War, or by his Proſcriptions. But that he might at the ſame time leſſen the Authority of the Knights, he took from them the Right of enquiring into the Crimes of Extortion and Peculate, which *Caius Gracchus* had conferred on them. He at the ſame time increaſed the Number of *Ple-*

Sylla *regulates the Government.*

beians.

Dolabella with ten thouſand Slaves, who had belonged to Perſons proſcribed, giving them the Name of *Cornelians*, that they might ever remember the Author of their Liberty. He afterwards publiſhed ſeveral Laws, ſome of which were new, and others the ſame which he had formerly got paſſed during his Conſulſhip, but which had been abrogated by *Marius* and *Cinna*. His principal Deſign was to repreſs the Ambition of ſuch who attempted, at once, to arrive to the chief Dignities of the State, and to leſſen, at the ſame Time, the Authority of the Tribunes of the People, whom he had always greatly oppoſed. He ordain'd, by the firſt of thoſe Laws, that no Body ſhould be admitted to the Office of Prætor, who had not been a Quæſtor before; and that no Citizen ſhould be choſen Conſul, but who had been Prætor before; nor obtain the ſame Dignity a ſecond Time, till ten Years after the firſt Time. By a ſecond Law he excluded thoſe who had once been Tribunes of the People, from all other Magiſtracies; which made that Dignity, which uſed to be the next after the Dictatorſhip, and the moſt powerful in the Commonwealth, very little regarded

Sylla's Ingratitude to Lucretius Ofella.

He had theſe Laws paſſed in Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People. They all voted for them; no Body durſt be of an Opinion contrary to that of the Dictator; and the Example of *Lucretius Ofella* ſhowed, how dangerous it was either to oppoſe him, or not tamely to ſubmit. *Lucretius* was one of SYLLA's Lieutenants, who had done him ſome of the moſt important Services. It was he who had beſieged and taken *Preneſte*, and reduced *Marius* the younger to the fatal Neceſſity of killing himſelf. That Officer aſpired to be choſen Conſul, tho' he had never been Prætor. SYLLA ſent him Word to forbear inſiſting on his Pretenſions, as being contrary to the new Laws he had juſt eſtabliſhed. *Lucretius* relying on his Services, did not imagine

imagine that thoſe new Laws ought to affect Sylla's Lieutenants; and, having a powerful Party among the People, he appeared on the Day of Election as one of the Candidates. Sylla, offended at his Proceeding, cauſed him to be ſtabbed on the Spot by one of his Captains. The People, ignorant of the Cauſe of this Murder, fell upon that Officer, and dragged him before the Dictator to have him puniſhed. Sylla commanded him to be ſet at Liberty, and directing his Speech to the People: *Know, Romans,* (ſaid he) *That it was by my ſpecial Command that Man was kill'd, becauſe he refuſed to obey me; and that every one ſhall meet with the ſame Treatment, who ſhall offer to tranſgreſs my Laws and Ordinances.* The People, frighten'd to ſee themſelves under ſo tyrannical a Government, went Home.

App. Alex. l. 2. c. 2. Plut. in Sylla.

Sylla's *Abdication.*

However, this Man, who had uſurped ſo abſolute a Power, and who, to arrive thereat, had undergone ſo many Hazards, and fought ſo many Battles, took it all on a ſudden in his Head to lay it down again. Sylla, after having deſtroy'd more than an hundred thouſand of his Fellow-Citizens in the Civil War, after having cauſed ninety Senators, of which fifteen had been Conſuls, and more than ſix and twenty hundred Knights, to be maſſacred; that Man, I ſay, whoſe chief Paſſion had been Revenge, and who had ſatiated it with ſuch a prodigious Quantity of Blood, was daring enough to diveſt himſelf of the Sovereign Power. He laid down the Dictatorſhip, and uncompell'd, reduced himſelf to a Level with a private Citizen, without fearing the Reſentment of ſo many illuſtrious Families, the Heads of which he had deſtroy'd by his cruel Proſcriptions. On the contrary, it is related, that immediately upon laying down the Dictatorſhip, he cry'd out aloud, in the middle of the *Forum*, that he was ready to give an Account of his whole Adminiſtration.

He

He, at the ſame Time, ſent away his Victors, diſmiſs'd his Guards, and, after that, continued walking in the *Forum* with ſome of his Friends, and before the Multitude, who, ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment, look'd on ſo unexpected a Change, as on a Prodigy. In the Evening, he returned home by himſelf, and like a private Man; no one, among that great Number of Enemies he had created himſelf, daring to inſult him. There was, in that prodigious City, but one young hair-brain'd Fellow who publickly affronted him; who followed him as far as his Houſe, calling him Names. SYLLA diſdained to return him any Anſwer; and only, in a manner prophetically, ſaid, That the Inſolence of that young Fellow would be the Cauſe, that if any Body after Him arrived to the ſame Degree of Power, he would not lay it down ſo eaſily as He had now done. The *Romans*, in general, deemed this ſo ſurprizing Abdication to be the greateſt and laſt Effort of Magnanimity and Heroiſm. His Proſcriptions were forgot: They gladly forgave him his many Murders, for the ſake of Liberty, which he reſtored to his Country. App. l. 1. c. 24.

His Enemies, on the other hand, attributed ſo great a Change to the natural Uneaſineſs of his Mind, and the continual Fear that ſome *Roman* might be brave enough, at one Stroke, to deprive him of the Empire and Life too. Whatever was the true one among all theſe different Motives, SYLLA, after having ſhed ſo much Blood, died as quietly in his Bed, as the moſt peaceable Citizen of the Commonwealth could have wiſh'd to do. He compoſed his own Epitaph a few Days before he died; and therein we find his true Character. It was thus in Subſtance: *That no Body had ever out-done him, either in obliging his Friends, or in perſecuting his Enemies.* Sylla's *quiet Death.* His Epitaph.

His

His abdicating the Dictatorship shewed, That Ambition and desire of Reigning, had not been his predominant Passion, and that he had seized on the Sovereign Power, only that he might more surely revenge himself on his Enemies. But the dangerous Example of a simple Citizen, who had found means to raise himself to Empire, and maintain himself therein, made those that followed him sensible, *That the* Romans *could bear a Master*; which was the Ground of more Revolutions.

Lepidus's vain Projects.

Scarce were the Eyes of SYLLA clos'd, but *M. Emilius* LEPIDUS, first Consul, undertook, in imitation of him, to make himself Master of the Government. But for the accomplishing a Design of so high a Nature, his Interest and Abilities were insufficient, and far short of his Ambition. He was a Man little esteem'd by the Soldiery; more a Courtier than a Commander; a deep Dissembler; and one who had raised himself by doing many little and ungenerous Things. Tho' he had declared himself for the Nobility, who seemed to him the most powerful Party; or, to speak more properly, tho' he had stooped to SYLLA's absolute Authority, the Dictator, who knew him perfectly well, and mistrusted him, would never suffer him to be chosen Consul. But after he had laid down the Dictatorship, *Pompey*, who now bore the greatest Sway, deceiv'd by the feign'd Attachment of LEPIDUS, openly favour'd his Election: And, on the Day of the *Comitia*, he caused him to be nominated first Consul, preferably to Q. *Catulus*, his Colleague, and Son of that Consular, whom *Marius* had put to Death.

His Character.

Year of Rome, 675.

Plut. in Sylla.

It is related, That when SYLLA saw *Pompey* returning from the Election with a joyful Countenance, and pleased that LEPIDUS, whom he thought his Creature, not only was elected, but had also had the Preference above *Catulus*, he said to him aloud, *Are not you ashamed, young Man, to applaud your self for*

for having got ſuch a Man as LEPIDUS *choſen firſt Conſul, in Excluſion of* Catulus, *one of our beſt Citizens?* He afterwards warned him, That he muſt expect to find in LEPIDUS at beſt a very weak and doubtful Friend, and perhaps a dangerous Enemy, who, if he could find his Advantage in it, would turn againſt his Benefactor that Authority which his Imprudence had procur'd him.

The Conduct of LEPIDUS ſoon made it plain, that SYLLA was no ways miſtaken in his Character, notwithſtanding he had very much endeavoured to conceal himſelf. But he had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip, when it was diſcern'd that he endeavoured, by ſowing new Diviſions, to make himſelf Maſter of the ſovereign Power, and uſurp the ſame Authority as SYLLA had done.

Lepidus declares againſt the great ones.

We have ſeen more than once in this Hiſtory, that the Great Men of *Rome* had commonly, to gratify their Ambition, made uſe of one of theſe two Pretences; *viz.* the Intereſt of the People, or that of the Senate. Both ways were open to LEPIDUS. It is true, that, as we obſerv'd before, to accommodate himſelf to the preſent State of the Commonwealth, he had declared for the *Patrician* Party: But thoſe were weak Ties for an aſpiring Man. And beſides, as he found that *Pompey*, *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and even his Collegue *Catulus*, all Men of more Weight and Intereſt than himſelf, were the Chiefs of that Party, he thought that he ſhould have a greater Number of Adherents, if he went over to MARIUS his Party, moſt of whoſe Chiefs had been deſtroyed in the Civil War, and which ſubſiſted no where but in the ancient Antipathy of the *Plebeians* againſt the *Patricians*. It was in order to revive this laſt Party, that he propoſed to aboliſh ſome of the Laws made by SYLLA. *Catulus*, his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, oppoſed him with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution. The two Parties thereupon declared each for one or

other of the Conſuls. LEPIDUS, to ſtrengthen his Party, and bring over the Nations of *Italy* to his Side, ſent them word, that he deſigned to reinſtate them in the five and thirty ancient Tribes, and reſtore to them thoſe Lands which the Dictator had taken from them to reward his Army. This Declaration did not fail of increaſing his Party very much.. *Rome* ſaw her ſelf again on the Brink of being the Theatre of a Civil War: But the Senate interpoſed its Authority, and made both Conſuls promiſe upon Oath, that Neither ſhould take up Arms againſt the Other during their Conſulate.

App. l. 1. c. 25. Plut. in Pompeio. Lepidus *joins* Brutus *and* Perpenna.

LEPIDUS thought himſelf diſengaged of his Oath as ſoon as his Conſulate expired, at which time the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina* was allotted to him. He immediately began to raiſe an Army there, and got into his Party *Brutus* and *Perpenna*, both Prætorians; who had each the Command of a conſiderable Body of Forces, and were incamp'd near *Modena*. LEPIDUS, ſtrengthened with this Supply, and ſeeing no Army in *Italy* that could withſtand his, march'd ſtrait to *Rome*, in hopes of being a ſecond SYLLA, if he could make himſelf Maſter of the City. The Senate, apprized of his March and Deſigns, put themſelves in a Condition to keep him out. Legions were ſoon liſted. *Catulus*, who was appointed General, incamped without the Gates. LEPIDUS, to ſwell his Party, cauſed ſome Papers to be ſpread about in *Rome*; wherein he invited the People, and MARIUS's Party, to come out to join him. But as they had no great Opinion of his Abilities nor Courage, and that the People moreover could not brook the Deſign of incorporating the *Italians* into the ancient Tribes; not a Man ſtir'd in his Behalf. Yet as he was too far advanced to go back, it ſoon came to a Battle; and *Catulus*, at the Head of the Legions, and of all the Nobility then in *Rome*, charged him ſo briſkly, that after but a ſlender Reſiſtance, he cut

Paſ-

Part of his Army to pieces, and forc'd the other to run away. LEPIDUS, in Deſpair at this ill Succeſs, after having wander'd about ſome time in Diſguize, and been forc'd to conceal himſelf in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, at laſt went over to *Sardinia*, where he had ſome Friends. *Perpenna*, one of his Lieutenants, went afterwards to him, with the Remains of his Army. Several of MARIUS's Party likewiſe join'd him. He made new Levies: His Party inſenſibly increaſed; and in a little while he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a new Army. His Deſign was to carry the War into *Sicily*; where he had ſecret Correſpondents. But ſoon afterwards, News was brought that he died of Grief; having intercepted a Letter, which left him no room to doubt of his Wife's Diſloyalty. His Party fell with him. *Brutus* had met with no better Fate. That Captain, not being able to get into *Sicily*, and join LEPIDUS, had thrown himſelf into *Modena*, with ſome Troops that were under his Command; leſs with a Deſign to continue the War, than to have time to capitulate and obtain better Terms. And indeed, *Pompey* having Orders to beſiege him there, he no ſooner appear'd before the Place, but *Brutus* open'd him the Gates, and aſk'd no other Conditions, than to have the Liberty to retire in Safety to a little Village upon the Banks of the *Po*. *Pompey* conſented. He even wrote to the Senate, that the Quickneſs of *Brutus*'s Submiſſion had ended the War. Yet, in Violation of the Treaty and his Word, he ſent Ruffians a few Days after, to ſtab him in that very Village which he had choſe for his Retreat: Whether becauſe he learn'd that he was again ſecretly caballing with LEPIDUS; or whether that young General, train'd up in the cruel Politicks of SYLLA, thought it unſafe to let any Chief of that Party live. *Perpenna*, after the Death of thoſe two Chiefs, got together the Remains of their Army; and finding himſelf

App. l. 1. c. 25.

Lepidus *dies of Grief.*

Brutus *ſtab'd by Ruffians ſent from* Pompey.

Plut. ibid.

Perpenna *goes into* Spain.

at the Head of fifty three * Cohorts, he march'd them into *Spain*. His Design was to settle there, to make War on his own Account, and without depending upon any Superior; following herein the Example of *Sertorius*, a General of great Fame, who yet maintain'd the Party of MARIUS in *Lusitania*.

Pompey *succeeds to* Sylla. Plut. ibid.

SYLLA had caus'd the Government of those vast Provinces to be given to *Metellus*, one of his Lieutenants. The Senate, fearing he would not be able to withstand those two Chiefs, if they join'd their Forces, sent POMPEY to his Assistance with fresh Troops. POMPEY, in whom the Senate confided entirely, and who, since SYLLA's Death, was reputed the first General of the Commonwealth, soon began his March, and carry'd with him those very Troops, that more than once had defeated those of MARIUS's Party. *Perpenna*'s Soldiers, who had no great Opinion of his Military Skill, hearing that POMPEY was coming against them, took their Arms and their Ensigns, and, without asking *Perpenna*'s Advice, cry'd out, That it behov'd them to join *Sertorius*: That they had Occasion for so experienc'd a Warrior to command 'em; and that if he refus'd to conduct them to his Camp, they would find the way to it themselves, and carry their Ensigns along with them. *Perpenna* was enrag'd at this general Defection; but not thinking himself safe any where but with the Companions of his Rebellion, he was forc'd to follow 'em. He arriv'd at *Sertorius*'s Camp; and from an absolute and independent General, he found himself compell'd by his own Soldiers to be content to act as an inferior Officer. The Junction of POMPEY with *Metellus*, and that of *Perpenna* with *Sertorius*, gave a new Life to the War. *Sertorius*, who was as bold as he was experienc'd, had commonly the Advantage, chiefly over *Pompey*; whom the Desire of distinguishing himself, and the Fear of dividing

Pursues Perpenna *and* Sertorius. Plut. in Sert.

* 32,000 *Men.*

his

his Glory, uſually ſeparated from *Metellus*. That young General, whoſe Reputation was at ſuch a Pitch at *Rome*, had even the Diſpleaſure to be a Looker on at the taking and burning of the Town of *Lauron* by *Sertorius*, after having in vain attempted to relieve it.

It is ſaid, That having engag'd himſelf too far, and minding only the Enemy's Army that was forming the Siege before him, he ſaw upon the adjacent Hills Troops of Mountaineers, who appear'd all of a ſudden, and, by their Excurſions into the Plain, hinder'd him from extending his Army, and foraging there: So that he that was come to raiſe the Siege, found himſelf in a manner beſieg'd and inveſted by thoſe numerous Parties; which oblig'd him to keep very cloſe. *Sertorius* having ſhown his principal Officers the Diſpoſition of his Camp, and the different Poſts that his Troops poſſeſs'd, added, ſpeaking ſlightingly of POMPEY, That SYLLA's Scholar was yet raw in his Art; and he would ſhortly teach him, that it is more incumbent on the General of an Army to look behind, than before him. *Sertorius's Advantages over Pompey.*

And indeed, POMPEY, fearing leſt thoſe Troops of *Sertorius*, upon the Mountains, ſhould grow numerous, and ſtrong enough to cut off his Retreat, reſolved to march off in time. He was obliged to give over all Thoughts of throwing Succours into the Place. *Sertorius* carry'd it Sword in Hand: And tho' he was not of a cruel Temper, he thought himſelf oblig'd to ſet Fire to it; thereby to deter other Towns in *Spain*, and make them ſenſible, that *Pompey*'s Protection could avail them little againſt his Power and Reſentment.

POMPEY, extreamly concern'd that he could not prevent a Town from being burnt in his Preſence, for having choſen his Party, was every Day looking for an Opportunity of taking his Revenge. He thought he had it near *Sucrone*; And tho' *Metellus* was not far off, he fancied himſelf ſtrong enough *Pompey defeated by Sertorius.*

enough to defeat the Enemy without his Aſſiſtance. He attacked *Sertorius* in a Plain; but he (whoſe *Spaniſh* Horſe out-did the *Roman*) puſhed *Pompey* ſo briſkly, that his *Italian* Horſe being broke, put his Foot in Confuſion and Diſorder. *Pompey* narrowly eſcaped being taken; and his Army had been entirely defeated, if *Metellus* had not advanced to his Aid. *Sertorius* ſeeing the Legions of that old General near, retired to his Camp, and ſaid jeſtingly to his Officers; *If that old Woman*, meaning *Metellus*, *had not reſcued her Child out of my Hands, I would have ſent him back to* Rome *to his Relations, after having chaſtiſed him as he deſerved.*

Year of Rome, 679.

Pompey, leſs preſuming, and grown a little wiſer by his ill Succeſs, judged rightly, that he could not without Danger keep ſeparate from *Metellus*. They join'd their Forces: But notwithſtanding they were become ſuperior in Number by it, they run continually freſh Hazards where-ever they incamped. They had to do with an Enemy, who ſurprized them ſometimes by Day, ſometimes by Night. His Troops, conſiſting moſtly of *Spaniards* and Mountaineers, active and nimble, attacked them continually, and retreated as expeditiouſly. The *Roman* Soldiers, heavily arm'd, and accuſtomed to a cloſe Battle, could never come up with them. *Sertorius* alone had the Direction of all theſe Skirmiſhes: It ſeem'd as if he multiplied himſelf: The two *Roman* Generals always met him at the Head of thoſe that attacked them. If he gain'd any Advantage, he then puſhed his Enemy without giving them time to recover themſelves. And if he met with too great a Reſiſtance, and fear'd to be ſurrounded, his Soldiers, as he had taught them, diſperſed immediately ſeveral ways. They fled among the Rocks and Mountains; and upon the leaſt Signal rally'd again, and came to their General: He then return'd, and charg'd again on another Quarter. It look'd as if they were freſh

Sertorius's Valour and Conduct.

Plut. in Sertorio.

Troops;

Troops, and another Army, which he found ready to enter upon Action. By this Method of making War, which was favoured by the Nature of the Country, he never gave any Reſt, either to his Enemy, nor his own Troops.

His Reputation, and the Account of the Advantages which he gain'd every Day againſt the two moſt eminent *Roman* Generals, flew as far as *Aſia*. Sertorius *refuſes* Mithridates's *Alliance.*

We have already heard, That *Mithridates*, preſs'd by SYLLA, had been obliged, in order to obtain Peace, to ſubmit to the Law of the Conqueror, and accept of all the Terms which he was pleaſed to dictate; and that the *Roman* General had put a Stop to his victorious Arms, with no other View, than to be at Liberty to turn them againſt MARIUS, and his other private Enemies.

Mithridates, after SYLLA's Deceaſe, and during the Civil Wars that diſturbed the Commonwealth, thought he could never renew the War in more favourable Circumſtances. He raiſed a powerful Army; and, in order to foment the Civil War, and to keep up a Diverſion very advantageous to his Deſigns, he ſent to SERTORIUS, propoſing to unite their Intereſts. His Deputies offered him conſiderable Sums for the Charge of the War, with a Fleet at his own Diſpoſal; on Condition, that he would ſuffer that Prince to reconquer thoſe Provinces of *Aſia*, which the Neceſſity of his Affairs had forced him to give up by the Treaty made with SYLLA. Plut. ibid.

SERTORIUS called a Council. All that were preſent were of Opinion, That it was ſcarce Matter for Deliberation: And withal repreſented to him, That for a Supply ſo real and ſo ready, as Money and a Fleet, which were offer'd him, he was bound to no other Expence than an empty Conſent, required of him, to an Undertaking which he could no ways hinder. But SERTORIUS, with a Greatneſs of Soul worthy of a true *Roman*, proteſted, That he could never hearken to a Treaty contrary

to the Glory or the Intereſt of his Country; and that he even ſcorn'd to obtain a Victory over his private Enemies by unjuſtifiable Methods. And having ſent for *Mithridates*'s Ambaſſadors, he declared to them, That he would ſuffer the King their Maſter to regain *Bythinia* and *Cappadocia*, being Provinces to which the *Romans* had no Right; but that he would never conſent he ſhould ſet a Foot in *Aſia Minor*, which belong'd to the Commonwealth, and which he had renounced by a ſolemn Treaty. With this Anſwer he ſent thoſe Deputies back; and it is ſaid, that when *Mithridates* was told it, turning himſelf to ſome of his Courtiers, with great Aſtoniſhment, he ſhould ſay; *What would not this* Roman *preſcribe to us if he was at* Rome, *ſince from the Shores of the* Atlantic Sea, *whither he is baniſhed, he preſumes to mark out Limits to my Empire?*

Plut. in Sert.

Sertorius enters into an Alliance with Mithridates.

However, that Prince knowing how much it imported him to keep up the Civil War, afterwards concluded the Treaty upon thoſe very Terms *Sertorius* had preſcrib'd. The King of *Pontus* ſupply'd him with three Hundred Talents, and forty Ships: And SERTORIUS gave the King of *Pontus* a Body of Troops under the Command of MARIUS *Varius*, one of the Senators proſcribed by SYLLA, and who had taken Sanctuary with him.

That Senator being arrived in *Aſia*, made the Name and Power of his General reſpected in all the Places he paſs'd through with his Troops. As if he had been authoriſed by the Senate and the *Roman* People, he diſcharged in their Name moſt of the Cities from the heavy Load of Taxes that SYLLA had laid on them. So moderate and politick a Conduct opened him the Gates of all Places, without ſtriking one Blow; and the very Name of SERTORIUS made more Conqueſts, than all the Forces of *Mithridates*.

Bur-

But this great Captain, who had eſcap[ed] the Dangers of the War, periſhed by the Trea[chery] of the *Romans*, ev'n of his own Party. *Perpenna*, who could not forgive him the Authority he had accepted over his Army, and who flattered himſelf he ſhould ſucceed him, if he could get rid of him, plotted his Ruin; and drew into his Conſpiracy ſeveral Officers, pretending that *Sertorius* ſlighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Spaniards*. The Conſpirators aſſaſſinated him at a Banquet. *Perpenna* then took upon him the Command of the Army; but he wanted both the Abilities of his Predeceſſor, and the Confidence of his Soldiers, who abhorred his Treachery. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. App. l. 1. de bell. Civ. Sertorius *aſſaſſinated.* Plut. in Sert. App. de bell. Civ.

Metellus and *Pompey* about that Time had been obliged to part, to ſubſiſt their Cavalry the eaſier. POMPEY heard the firſt of *Sertorius*'s Murder, and the Diſpoſition of his Army thereupon. He immediately drew near *Perpenna*'s Camp: Part of that new General's Soldiers quitted him; the reſt, when they were attack'd, made but a feeble Reſiſtance. The whole diſpers'd: *Perpenna*, in this general Rout, had nothing left to do, but to run away, and hide himſelf. He was found in a Thicket. *Pompey* order'd his Head to be cut off inſtantly, and by his Death ended the *Spaniſh* War. Pompey *defeats the* Sertorians

POMPEY return'd with his victorious Army into *Italy*. *Spartacus*, a Gladiator, had excited there a very dangerous War. That Gladiator, a Man of Courage, got out of *Capua*, where he was a Priſoner, with Seventy more of his Comrades. He exhorted them rather to ſacrifice their Lives for the Defence of their Liberty, than ſubmit tamely to be a Spectacle for the cruel Diverſion of their Maſters. A great Number of runaway Slaves join'd him. Licentiouſneſs and Hope of Plunder brought a vaſt Number of the Rabble to him, from all Parts of the Country, ſo that in a little Time he found himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Army. *Year of* Rome, 680. *War with* Spartacus. Cæſar Com. l. 1. Cic. in. Manil. Flor. l. 3. c. 20. Val. Max. L. 8. c. 6. App. de bell. Civ. l. 1.

my[illegible] Senate, deſpiſing *Spartacus*, at firſt contented themſelves with ſending *Varinius Glaber* and *P. Valerius*, both Prætors, againſt him. They even gave them but a ſmall Number of Troops; becauſe they thought it a Shame to ſend the Legions againſt Slaves and Robbers, whom the ſole Preſence of the Magiſtrate ought to have diſperſed. *Spartacus* cut thoſe Troops to Pieces. This Defeat, though by a vaſtly ſuperior Number, cauſed a Surprize in the Senate equal to their Indignation. It proving a more ſerious Affair than they at firſt imagined, *L. Gellius* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, the Conſuls, received Orders to take the Field, each at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Forces. Thoſe Magiſtrates, no ways imagining that an Army of Slaves and Fugitives durſt face the Legions, march'd heedleſly againſt Enemies whom they deſpiſed. *Spartacus* took Advantage of it. He choſe his Camp and the Field of Battle, as well as the ableſt General could have done; and he led on his Companions, and animated them to fight with ſuch an undaunted Courage, that the *Roman* Soldiers, who thought they were ſure of Victory, meeting with an unexpected Reſiſtance, quitted their Colours, and ran away. The Conſuls got 'em together again, and they fought a ſecond Battle near *Picenum*, but with the ſame ill Succeſs. The *Romans* fled again; and nothing could any ways palliate ſo uncommon a Cowardice, but attributing it to a criminal Correſpondence with the Enemy. Such great Advantages drew numberleſs Crowds of People to *Spartacus*; and this Gladiator ſaw under his Command at one Time no leſs than an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Men, Shepherds, Banditti, Slaves, Deſerters, all profligate, deſperate Fellows, who carried Fire and Sword on all Sides, and who in this Rebellion had no other View than an unbridled Licentiouſneſs, and the Impunity of their Crimes. It was now three Years that

Spartacus *cuts the* Roman *Troops to Pieces.* *Year of* Rome, 681.

Year of Rome, 682.

That this Domeſtick War had continued [illegible] *Italy*, as much to the Shame, as to the Diſadvantage of the Commonwealth, when the Senate gave the Conduct thereof to *Licinius Craſſus*, one of the greateſt Commanders of SYLLA's Party, and who had had a great Hand in his Victories. Fortune chang'd Sides under ſo able a General. *Craſſus* knew how to make War; and he now did it with Succeſs. He began with reſtoring the Military Diſcipline in his Army. Every Tenth Man of thoſe Legions, that had in a cowardly manner given way in the preceding Battles, was put to Death. This wholſome Severity made him equally dreaded by his own Soldiers, and thoſe of the Enemy. The *Romans* well ſaw, that under this General they muſt either vanquiſh or die; and Ten Thouſand Men of the Rebels having ventur'd at ſome Diſtance from their main Army, for the Convenience of Foraging, he fell upon them unawares, and cut them all to Pieces. *Craſſus ſent againſt Spartacus.*

He afterwards in a pitch'd Battle defeated their whole Army, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. *Spartacus*, with the reſt of his broken Forces, was endeavouring to gain the Sea-ſide, and to get over into *Sicily*, where a great Number of Slaves made him hope he might retrieve All: But *Craſſus* prevented him, cut off his March to the Sea, and inveſted him in his own Camp. SPARTACUS, deſpairing of a Retreat, reſolved once more to try the Fate of a Battle. He drew up his Army with the Skill of a great Captain; he only wanted a better Cauſe. It is ſaid, that when they brought him a Horſe a little before the Onſet, he drew his Sword, killed him, and turning to his Soldiers, ſaid, *If I gain the Victory, I ſhall want no Horſe; and if we are defeated, I do not deſign to uſe any.* He then put himſelf at the Head of his Infantry. His People, animated by the Example of their General, *Spartacus beat, and killed.* Plut. in Craſſo.

ral, fought desperately. Victory was a long while dubious which Side to chuse; at last the Valour of the Legions decided the Matter. Great was the Slaughter made of those Vagabonds: SPARTACUS, wounded in the Thigh with a Javelin, defended himself yet a long Time, fighting on his Knees, holding his Buckler in one Hand, and his Sword in the other. At last, pierced with many Wounds, he fell upon a Heap of *Romans* he had sacrificed to his Fury, and of his own Soldiers, who were kill'd at the Feet of their General, in defending him. Those that escaped the Victor's Sword, fled into the Mountains, and so rally'd again. *Pompey*, returning from *Spain*, met with them, and easily defeated a Body of Fugitives, without a Leader or a Place of Refuge. Yet, to lessen *Crassus*'s Glory, and increase his own, he was not ashamed to write to the Senate, That *Crassus* had indeed defeated *Spartacus*, *But I* (said he in his Letter) *have cut up the Root of that War, and exterminated the very last of those Robbers.* *Crassus* was highly offended at a Letter which, in depriving him of the Honour of having ended that War, seem'd wrote to prepare the People for refusing him the Triumph. But as he aim'd at the same Time at being chosen Consul, and that *Pompey* was then all mighty in *Rome*, he concealed how much he resented that publick Affront, in a profound Silence. POMPEY was called to the Consulship by the Wishes of the whole *Roman* People. *Crassus*, apprehending that he might get him excluded, intreated him by some common Friends, that they might act in Concert, and that he would receive him as his Collegue in that supreme Dignity. POMPEY well pleased to have forced him to have recourse to his Interest, professed publickly, that he should be as much oblig'd to his Friends for promoting *Crassus*'s Election as his own. The two Parties being united, carry'd all the Votes. *Crassus*, who according to

Liv. Epit. l. 97. Athen. l. 2. Eutrop. l. 6. Cicero in Pisonem.

Plut. in Crasso. Cicer. pro Lege Manil.

Crassus *and* Pompey *Friends*

Year of Rome, 683.

SYLLA's

SYLLA's Laws, had been Prætor before, w[illegible]en Conſul; and the ſame Dignity was conf[illegible] on POMPEY, though he was no more than a K[illegible]ht; had not been ſo much as Quæſtor; and ſcarc[illegible] was Thirty Four Years Old. But his great Reputation, and the Splendor of his Victories, hid theſe Irregularities: It was thought that a Citizen, who had been honour'd with a Triumph before the Age of Four and Twenty, and before he took Place in the Senate, ought not to be ſubject to the common Rules.

Pompey *and* Craſſus *Conſuls.*

This was not the ſole Occaſion, wherein the Eſteem or Complaiſance of his Fellow-Citizens, and ſometimes his own Ambition, placed him above the Laws. It was a Cuſtom in the Commonwealth, that a victorious General that demanded a Triumph, was not to enter the City before he had obtain'd it. By the ſame Law, every Citizen that pretended to the Conſulſhip, was obliged to be there perſonally to ſollicit the Dignity he aſpired to. It look'd as if *Pompey* and *Craſſus* had laid aſide their Pretenſions to a Triumph, ſince they had both entered *Rome* to ſollicit the Conſulſhip. But great was the Surprize of the *Romans* to find, that after their Election they ſtill claim'd it, as if they had remain'd at the Head of their Armies. Till then they had acted in Concert; but as the Affair of the Triumph was liable to Difficulties, and that they were call'd upon to diſband their Armies, which were at the Gates of *Rome*, *Craſſus*, who had leſs Regard for POMPEY, ſince he was choſen Conſul, repreſented that ſince POMPEY had firſt terminated the *Spaniſh* War, he ought alſo firſt to diſband his Army. *Pompey*, on the other hand, incens'd at *Craſſus* for maintaining that he ought to break his Army firſt, refus'd to comply, on Pretence, that he waited for *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. Theſe oppo-

Hatred between Craſſus *and* Pompey.

oppo[illegible] Pretenſions made their Hatred break out. *Pom[illegible]* could not bear that *Craſſus*, whom he deem'd a much inferior Commander to himſelf, and who had even obtain'd the Conſulate through His Influence only, ſhould dare to enter into Competition with him; and *Craſſus*, the richeſt Man in the Republick, reckoned his Treaſures for Victories, and could not brook to give way to a Man, whoſe Coffers were not ſo full as his own. Through theſe Pretenſions the Publick eaſily ſaw, that thoſe two Men, equally ambitious and powerful, had a Mind to keep their Armies on Foot, leſs to adorn their Triumph, an empty Ceremony, than to maintain the more Power and Authority againſt each other. The Senate and the People fearing to fall again into the Calamities of a Civil War, beſought them to ſacrifice their private Reſentments to the publick Peace. The People went even ſo far on a Day of Aſſembly, as to beg of them on their Knees, that they would be reconciled. *Pompey* affected an inflexible Pride, and to the laſt ſeem'd unmoveable: *Craſſus*, on his Part, ſhow'd no leſs Stiffneſs. But the Aruſpices having declared, that the State was threatned with the moſt dreadful Calamities, unleſs the Conſuls agreed; *Craſſus* moved with Sentiments of Piety, aroſe firſt, and preſented his Hand to *Pompey*, who afterwards embraced him; and when both had triumphed, they diſbanded their Troops by Conſent.

Plut. in Craſſ. *Reconciliation between* Pompey *and* Craſſus.

This Reconciliation was not ſo ſincere, but that each endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf, by increaſing his Party. It imported them above all Things to gain the People. *Craſſus*, to win their Affections, prepared an Entertainment on a Thouſand Tables, whereat he treated the whole City. He at the ſame Time diſtributed Corn enough to all the Populace to maintain their Families three whole Months. The Surprize at ſuch prodigious Libe-

Craſſus's Profuſion.

Liberalities will be leſs, if it be conſidered, that *Craſſus*'s Eſtate amounted to more than ſeven thouſand Talents. And it was by ſuch like publick Expences, that the great Men of *Rome* uſed to purchaſe the Votes of the People. POMPEY, on the other hand, to outdo *Craſſus*, and to bring the Tribunes of the People into his Intereſts, procured ſuch Laws to paſs, as reſtored to thoſe Magiſtrates all the Authority they had been deprived of by SYLLA. Without any Regard to the Memory of his General and Benefactor, he revived the Ordinances of *C. Gracchus*, which referred to the Knights the Judgment of Criminal Cauſes, which SYLLA had referred to the Senate. Thus thoſe ambitious Men, in their Turns, play'd with the Laws, and ſometimes enlarged the Authority of the Senate, and ſometimes that of the People, according as it beſt ſuited with their private Intereſt. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Tranſports of Joy the Tribunes ſhow'd at the Recovery of their former Authority. As they chiefly owed it to POMPEY, they tarried not long before they ſhowed their Gratitude. The War had been decreed againſt the Pyrates that infeſted the Coaſts of the Commonwealth. They conferred the Management of it on POMPEY, and granted him an abſolute Authority by Sea and Land, either to raiſe Men, or to equip Ships of War.

Pompey's Policy. Plut. in Pomp.

Pyrates of Cilicia.

These Pyrates came originally from the Coaſts of *Cilicia*. At firſt they armed but a few ſmall Barks and Brigantines, which infeſted the Seas, and took both Merchants and Paſſengers, whom they made Slaves. Their Number and Boldneſs increaſed upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who took them into his Service, whilſt he made War againſt the *Romans*. They fitted out great Ships, form'd very large Fleets, and extended their Cruiſing all along the Coaſts of *Italy*:

* 122 *Millions*, 500000 *Livres*.

They

They even made ſome Deſcents; pillag'd the rich and moſt famous Temples; ruin'd the ſmall Towns, and carried their Inhabitants into Slavery. In ſhort, their Power increas'd to ſuch a Height, that they had above a Thouſand Ships, divided into ſeveral Squadrons, which kept all the Ports of the Commonwealth block'd up; ſo that ſcarce any Veſſel ventur'd out, without being taken; which ruin'd Trade entirely.

Pompey is ſent againſt the Pyrates. Year of Rome, 686.

It was againſt theſe Pyrates that *Pompey* was ſent. To put him in a Condition to make a ſuitable Armament, the People, whoſe Idol he was, decreed him a Power without Reſtriction. His Commiſſion run in expreſs Terms, that his Authority ſhould extend all over the *Mediterranean*, quite from *Hercules*'s Pillars, and as far as four hundred *Stadia* into the Land: That he ſhould raiſe as many Soldiers and Sailors as he thought fit: That he ſhould take whatever Sums he pleaſed out of the publick Treaſury, without being accountable for them, and chuſe out of the whole Senate fifteen Senators to be his Lieutenants and execute his Orders where he could not be preſent himſelf. So abſolute an Authority truſted to one ſingle Citizen, gave a great deal of Uneaſineſs, and even Jealouſy, to the Senate. Several of that Body openly accuſed POMPEY, that he deſign'd to engroſs the whole Sovereignty of the State to himſelf; and one of the Conſuls, provok'd that this Commiſſion had been given him to the leſſening of his Prerogative, told him in a ſort of threatning Tone, *That by affecting, as he did, to imitate the haughty Behaviour of* Romulus, *he might perhaps meet with his Fate.*

Plut. in Pompeio.

The Senate jealous.

Catulus, more moderate, took a wiſer Method; and in order to diſſuade the People from granting ſo vaſt a Power to one ſingle Citizen, he began in one of the Aſſemblies with a Panegyrick upon

POMPEY,

POMPEY, and mention'd the moſt celebrated Actions of that General in the moſt magnificent Terms. But as if he had been concern'd for his Safety, he was ſorry the People ſhould expoſe the greateſt General of the Commonwealth to every Danger that happen'd: *And if you ſhould loſe him*, (ſaid he to the People) *What other could you put in his Room?* At which the Multitude, raiſing their Voices, cried out one and all, *We will put You.* *Catulus*, no longer able to reſiſt the firm Reſolution of the whole People, and pleaſed at the ſame Time with the honourable Teſtimony they bore to his own Courage, retir'd. Another Senator, call'd *Roſcius*, endeavouring to ſpeak after him, was prevented by the Clamours of the People, who would not then hear any Remonſtrances on that Head. *Roſcius* was reduc'd to explain himſelf by Signs; and holding up two of his Fingers, he tried to make them apprehend, that they ought at leaſt to give POMPEY a Collegue; but all his Endeavours were to no purpoſe. The People, even grown angry at the Jealouſy and Reſiſtance of the Senate, enlarg'd POMPEY's Power ſtill more; and it was added to his Commiſſion, that he ſhould be at Liberty to arm five hundred Ships, put an hundred and twenty thouſand Soldiers on board of 'em for Deſcents, and be attended by four and twenty Senators and two Quæſtors.

Cic. pro lege Manilia. Plut. in Pomp. Vel. l. 2. c. 31.

Thus it was, that this People, ſo jealous of their Liberty, ſeduced by their Tribunes, were haſtening into Slavery; and it lay wholly in *Pompey*'s Power to make himſelf ſole Sovereign of the Commonwealth. But thoſe that rightly knew him, judg'd they had nothing to fear from a Man, who had more Vanity than Ambition, and who was more ſenſible of the great Name that ſo honourable a Poſt gave him, than mindful how to make it laſting and independent of thoſe who

conferred it upon him. This War laſted but one Campaign. *Pompey* having fitted out a large Fleet, defeated that of the Pyrates. He took vaſt Numbers of thoſe Robbers: But inſtead of putting them to Death, he baniſh'd them to remote inland-places, as far diſtant as poſſible from the Sea-ſhore. By which Method, as he enabled them to get a Livelihood, without Pyracy, ſo he prevented them moſt ſurely from ever returning to their Pyracy.

The End of the Eleventh Book.

BOOK XII.

POMPEY *goes into* Aſia, *to put himſelf at the Head of the Forces commanded by* Lucullus. *The Interview of thoſe two* Romans. *The Reproaches they make each other. They part declar'd Enemies. The Particulars of* Catiline's *Conſpiracy. The ambitious Deſigns of the Tribune* P. Servilius Rullus. Cicero, *by his Skill and Oratory, gets the Law rejected, which* Rullus *propos'd concerning the conquer'd Lands, and wholly defeats* Catiline's *Party.*

NO ſooner did the News of the Pyrates being overcome reach *Rome*, but *Manilius*, Tribune of the People, tho' a Creature of POMPEY, in order to perpetuate his Authority, propos'd a new Decree for conferring the Command of the Army againſt *Mithridates* upon POMPEY, although M. *Lucullus*, an excellent Commander, was actually inveſted with that Employment, and had gain'd a great Reputation in it. This Decree expreſs'd not only that POMPEY ſhould take upon him the Command of his Army, and the Government of *Aſia*, but beſides retain his Superintendency over that whole Naval Power, with which he juſt then had ſubdued the Pyrates. Plut. in Pompeio.

This was delivering all the Sea and Land Forces of the State into his Hands: He now only wanted the Title of King. *Manilius* and POMPEY's Adherents preſs'd the publiſhing of this Decree very much. The People, ever blind, and the Tool of *The* Lex Manilia *in Favour of the People.*

the Great, were as ſolicitous for it, as if their All had been at Stake. The Senate, more clear-ſighted, look'd on that Decree as the eſtabliſhing of Tyranny. Yet, when the Day was come, and that *Manilius* propos'd to the Aſſembly to recal *Lucullus*, and ſend *Pompey* in his Room, no Body offer'd to ſtir againſt it: The Fear of ſo powerful a Man's Reſentment reſtrain'd almoſt all the Senators. *Cicero* himſelf, who was univerſally acknowledg'd a good Citizen and Patriot, but always fearful, and unſettled in his Reſolutions, declared for the ſtrongeſt Side; and made for the Decree that Diſcourſe, which is preſerv'd under the Title of *Pro Lege Maniliâ*. There was none, in ſo large and numerous a Body, but *Hortenſius* and *Catulus* that oppos'd it. *Catulus*, with a great deal of Courage, reproach'd the People with the Injuſtice they were going to do *Lucullus:* He recounted his Services, and the great Actions he had perform'd during the Courſe of that War. He told them how, by a glorious Victory, he had reliev'd the Town of *Cizicum*, when beſieg'd by Sea and Land; how he had defeated *Mithridates* in ſeveral Battles, and vanquiſh'd *Tigranes*, the moſt potent King of *Aſia*. But perceiving that the People grew uneaſy at his Diſcourſe, he turn'd himſelf towards the Senate, and raiſing his Voice, with a Mien full of Indignation, *Let us retire*, ſaid he, *Conſcript Fathers, from a City where Tyranny is going to be ſettled; and let us go ſeek ſome Deſart, where we may preſerve that Liberty which we receiv'd from our Fathers.*

Plut. in Pomp.

Pompey named to be General againſt Mithridates.

This generous Diſcourſe made no manner of Impreſſion upon People, who had either ſold their Faith to *Pompey*, or who fear'd his Power and Reſentment. Thus was the publick Intereſt, as it always falls out, ſacrific'd to private Views. The Decree was confirm'd by all the Tribes; and the People, of their own Accord, conferr'd on Pom-

PEY

PEY as extenſive an Authority as SYLLA had uſurped by an arm'd Force, and exercis'd afterwards during his Dictatorſhip.

POMPEY ſet out immediately for *Aſia*: And *Lucullus*, hearing of the Decree, quitted his Army, that he might not be oblig'd to ſurrender it himſelf to his Adverſary. Theſe two Generals met in the Province of *Galatia*. Their Officers, and ſuch as were Friends to both, perſuaded them to ſee each other: They at firſt treated one another with all imaginable Civility; but at laſt *Lucullus*, full of Indignation againſt *Pompey*, who had robb'd him of his Employment, could not forbear ſhowing his Reſentment. He reproach'd him, that he had never coveted to command Armies, but againſt Enemies already vanquiſh'd; and that, like thoſe vile Birds of Prey that feed on none but dead Bodies and Carrion, it was his Cuſtom to come at the End of every War, to make his Advantage of Battles fought, and Victories gain'd by other Generals. That it was known to all the World, that he endeavour'd to rob *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and *Catulus*, of the Glory of their Victories over the *Spaniards*, Gladiators, and Mutineers who follow'd the Party of *Lepidus*; and, that he knew, without expoſing himſelf to any Danger, how to make the Advantages obtain'd by other People, his own: *And have I now*, added *Lucullus*, *vanquiſh'd* Mithridates, *conquer'd the Kingdom of* Pontus, *defeated* Tigranes, *obtain'd conſiderable Victories, and taken* Tigranocerta, Niſibe, *and ſo many other Cities in* Armenia, *only to procure You freſh Triumphs?*

Interview between Pompey *and* Lucullus.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 33. Plut. in Lucullo.

POMPEY, provok'd at ſo injurious a Speech, reproach'd him on his Part, That he had leſs conquer'd than ravag'd *Aſia*, whoſe Riches he had ſecur'd in his own Coffers; That he made War for nothing but the ſake of the Plunder; That he had indeed obtain'd ſome Advantages; but that he

never car'd to compleat a Victory; and uſually left to his Enemy wherewithal to continue the War, that he might likewiſe be continued in the Command, and pillage on to a Degree odious to his very Soldiers.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 33. Theſe mutual Reproaches were not groundleſs; and if it was true, that *Lucullus* had tarniſh'd the Splendor of his Victories by that inſatiable Deſire of accumulating Riches upon Riches; that Jealouſy, which *Pompey* ſhow'd againſt all the Commanders of the Common-wealth, and the Springs he ſet at work to deprive them of their Poſts, even during the Courſe of their Victories, render'd him much ſuſpected to all true Republicans. It look'd as if he would be the only General of the State, and that all others became odious to him, in Proportion to the Glory and Eſteem they acquir'd. Theſe two Generals parted declar'd Enemies: POMPEY went on to take the Command of the Army upon him; and *Lucullus* return'd to *Rome*, where, notwithſtanding all the ill Offices and Oppoſition of POMPEY and his Party, he was honour'd with a ſolemn Triumph. He found that City, then the Capital of the World, in a ſeeming Peace: But that outward Tranquility was but a Cover to a ſecret Agitation; and there were new Parties privately forming; all which, though by different Methods, aim'd at nothing leſs than to ſupplant each other, and become Maſters of the Government.

Saluſt in Cat. Plut. in Cic. Catiline's Character. *Lucius Sergius* CATILINE, whom we have mention'd above, was at the Head of one of the Parties. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious *Patrician* Family, and ſo ancient, that he bragg'd it ſprung from *Sergeſtus*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions: A Folly common to moſt great People, who, by reaſon of ſome Reſemblance in the Names, fancy they find the Origin of their Families in the Ruins of Antiquity, and often in mere Fables.

Cati-

Catiline, educated in the Hurry and Confuſion of the Civil Wars, had been the Miniſter of the Cruelties of *Sylla*, to whom he had devoted himſelf. The Favour of that Dictator, his Birth and Courage, had raiſed him to the principal Dignities of the Commonwealth: He had been Quæſtor, Lieutenant-General in ſeveral Armies, and had ſince commanded in Chief, as Prætor in *Africa*. But in all theſe different Employments, he had equally diſhonoured himſelf by his Debauches and horrible Crimes. He had been already publickly accuſed of Inceſt, with one of the Veſtal Virgins; of Aſſaſſination and Extortion; and he eſcaped the Puniſhment of the Laws no other way, than by his Art of bribing his Accuſers, with whom by Dint of Money he prevailed to drop the Proſecution. He was a Man without Morals, Probity, or Reſpect for the Gods; Ambition was his ſole Deity: Not ſatisfied with the preſent, always anxious for the future; bold, heady, audacious, daring to undertake any Thing, but not very capable; aiming at Tyranny too openly, and uncapable of that deep Diſſimulation, which was neceſſary to cover his execrable Deſigns. This was the Picture of *Lucius Catiline*, who, after *Sylla*'s Death, form'd a Scheme of uſurping the Sovereign Power, as He had done. To ſucceed herein, he began to keep Company with, and to court all the young Men in *Rome*, who had either waſted their Fortunes by Gaming, or their Bodies by Debauchery with Wine and Women.

Rome, in its Beginning, had found no ſurer Guard for publick Liberty, nor Fence againſt Ambition, than an almoſt equal Poverty among all her Citizens. Temperance and Frugality, the Conſequences of that Poverty, reign'd in all Conditions, perhaps as much out of Neceſſity, as out of Choice. Luxury was a long while a Stranger there. Iron was more valued than Gold; and

Rome undone by Luxury.

each Citizen, content with his ſmall Patrimony, which he manur'd with his own Hands, endeavoured no other ways to diſtinguiſh himſelf, than by his Courage. As they had no Expectations from any Body, each getting his Subſiſtence by his own Labour, there was neither a mean Complaiſance, nor ſlaviſh Dependance to be found amongſt 'em. Love of Liberty was their univerſal Motive; and as long as *Rome* held the Poverty of each Citizen for a Virtue, her Citizens remained free, ſubject to the Laws only, and independent upon each other.

But after the *Romans* had deſtroy'd *Carthage*, the Rival of *Rome*, ſubdued *Italy* and the adjacent Iſles, conquer'd *Spain* and the Coaſts of *Africa*, reduced Part of *Gaul*, and all *Syria*, into Provinces; after they had forced moſt of the Sovereigns of *Aſia* to pay them Tribute; then Ambition, Luxury, Effeminacy, and all thoſe Vices that ſeem inſeparable from Wealth, entered *Rome* in the Train of the Conquerors of thoſe Countries. Thoſe that had lived before with Honour in a laudable Poverty, could not ſtand it in Plenty. They began to look with Admiration on a Picture drawn by a great Maſter; and the like on a fine Statue, or a carved Vaſe. Soon was the good Fortune of thoſe Generals and Officers envied, who had brought ſuch from *Aſia*; and it was to get Poſſeſſion of theſe, and to grow rich, that they began to barter their Liberty, and ſell it to ſuch great Men, and Heads of Parties, as they could expect either Employments or Money from.

The auſtere Manners and Frugality of the ancient Times, were by Degrees changed into an exquiſite Voluptuouſneſs. Moſt of the Youth conſumed the Patrimony of their Anceſtors in Feaſts and Entertainments, where Delicacy, Extravagance, and Profuſion reign'd; the Women had their Share in this almoſt univerſal Corruption: Few now counted

counted Modeſty among the Female Virtues. Some Men, unworthy of that Name, proſtituted themſelves like Women; and thoſe that had ruined themſelves to anſwer ſuch extraordinary Expences, or were in danger of being proſecuted for Crimes, wiſh'd for a Civil War, that might ſhelter them from the Rigor of the Laws, or their troubleſome Creditors. This ſtrange Turn of Mind in the *Romans*, began to ſhow it ſelf towards the End of the Conſulſhip of *L. Volcatius Tullus*, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*. The People had deſigned for their Succeſſors, *Publ. Autronius*, and P. SYLLA. But having afterwards been convicted of Bribery, they were excluded from that Office; and by a new Election, *Lucius Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were ſubſtituted in their Room. The Shame of this Excluſion, and a Spirit of Revenge, urged them on to conſpire againſt the Tranquility of the State. They reſolved to aſſaſſinate the two new Conſuls, murder the greateſt Part of the Senate, and ſeize the Government. *Catiline*, always ready for the greateſt Crimes, and greedy of all Novelties that could make him hope for a Change in his Fortune, enter'd into this Plot. Beſides him, they engaged in it a great Number of thoſe young Men, undone by their Exceſſes mentioned above: Among the reſt, *Piſo*, a Youth of a Noble Family, but raſh, factious, overloaded with Debts, and who had no Proſpect of retrieving his Affairs, but in the Subverſion of the State.

Year of Rome, 687. Catiline's *Conſpiracy.*

Year of Rome, 688.

Their Deſign was, as we have ſaid, to kill Both the Conſuls, and the greateſt Number of Senators. They were to put this in Execution in the Capital, on the Firſt Day of *January*, when the Conſuls took Poſſeſſion of their Office. But not having found a convenient Opportunity on that Day, they put it off till the Fifth of *February*, at what time was to be ſeen the moſt execrable Attempt that ever had happen'd in the Commonwealth, ſince

ſince the Foundation of *Rome*. A Band of Profligates were, upon a Signal to be given by CATILINE, to fall on the Conſuls and the Senators, and ſtab them. But CATILINE, impatient and overhaſty to ſpill the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, having given the Signal too ſoon, and before all the Conſpirators had conveniently placed themſelves according to Direction, no body offered to ſtir: So that this cruel Buſineſs was put off once more. *Catiline*, by his Boldneſs, made himſelf the Head of the Plot, and ſtrengthened his Party with a great Number of Senators and Knights, who all from different Motives joined in the Conſpiracy.

Saluſt.

Among his Adherents in the Senate, were counted *Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius* mentioned above, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Caius Cethegus*, both the Sons of *Servius Sylla*, *Lucius Vargunteius*, *Quintus Annius*, *Porcius Lecca*, *Lucius Curius*, *L. Beſtia*, and *Q. Curius*; and of the Knights, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Lucius Statilius*, *P. Gabinus Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. It is affirm'd, that *Craſſus* partly knew their Deſigns, and that, always jealous, and an Enemy of *Pompey*'s Glory, he was not ſorry that another Party was ariſing in the Commonwealth, which ſhould counterbalance His Authority. Some People did even ſuſpect *Cæſar* of favouring the Plot under-hand; and they add, that thoſe two cunning and equally ambitious Men waited for the Event, before they would declare themſelves.

Character of Lentulus.

Lentulus, one of the Heads of this Party, was Son to *Manius Aquilius*, who had been Conſul with *Marius*: He bore the Name of *Lentulus*, becauſe he had been adopted by another *Lentulus* of the Noble Family of the *Cornelians*. He was a Man plunged in all manner of Debauchery, naturally ſhameleſs, and who openly bragged of his Vices. He had the Surname of *Sura* given him, (which means the *Calf of the Leg*) becauſe *Sylla*, the

the Dictator, having one Day in open Senate demanded he ſhould give an Account of the Monies which he had unfaithfully managed during his Quæſtorſhip, *Lentulus*, who had ſpent them in his Riots, anſwered him, That he had kept no other Book of Accounts beſides the Calf of his Leg, which he held out to be ſtruck; alluding to a Cuſtom of thoſe Days among Boys playing at Tennis; when he that had miſs'd hitting the Ball, received a Blow upon his Leg. Hiſtory has preſerved to us another Inſtance of his Impudence, which ſhews his depraved Temper and Character ſtill plainer. He had been ſummoned before the Magiſtrates, to anſwer to ſome Crimes that he was charged with. He bribed the Judges with large Sums of Money; and finding that, when Judgment was given, he had carried it by one Vote more than was neceſſary to come off, he was not aſhamed to ſay aloud to them, *That one of the Judges ought to return him his Money, ſince one Vote had been of no Uſe to him.*

Such was *P. Lentulus*, whom his Exceſſes, Impunity and Ambition, drew into this Conſpiracy. He had ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with a ſtrange Sort of Prophecy, aſcribed to the *Sibylls*, and which, they ſaid, promiſed the Empire of *Rome* to three of the *Cornelians*. *Sylla* and *Cinna*, both of that illuſtrious Houſe, though of different Parties, had one after the other enjoy'd the Sovereign Power: And *Lentulus* was not diſpleaſed, that his Flatterers applied the *Sibylline* Prophecy to him, and took him for the Third of that Name, who was to reign in *Rome*.

Cethegus, of the ſame Party, was a bold audacious Man, to be feared becauſe of the Sway he bore among the common People. He had been ſome time before Tribune of the People, whom he govern'd at his own Pleaſure: But he was himſelf governed by a Courtezan, called *Præcia*, who during

Character of Cethegus.

during his Tribunate, diſpoſed arbitrarily of all things in the Commonwealth.

Beſides the Senators we have mentioned, there was a great Number of Knights that had engaged in the Plot. CATILINE drew in, by his Management, even ſome veteran Soldiers and Officers of *Sylla*, who, after having conſumed in Whoring, Gaming and Drinking, all the Rewards of their former Services, were longing for a new Civil War, which they looked on as the only Remedy for their Want and Miſery.

Some Women of the beſt Families in *Rome*, as much noted for their Lewdneſs as their Beauty, entered into the Conſpiracy out of Complaiſance to their Lovers: Such was the famous *Sempronia*. Nature had beſtow'd on her not only a high Birth but a lively and engaging Wit, a firm and undaunted Courage, and, what Women value more than all, an incomparable Beauty.

Character of Sempronia.

Theſe natural Endowments were ſet off by an outward Appearance of Modeſty, which ſhe ſometimes affected to put on, according to the Character of thoſe ſhe had a mind to pleaſe. But her Looks, which then ſeem'd to eſcape modeſt Eyes, were always guided by violent Paſſions, ſhe always courting the Men more than they her. The Pravity of her Morals made her fall by Degrees into the greateſt Crimes. She was ſuſpected of being an Accomplice in ſeveral baſe Murders, and ſhe was known to have denied, in a Court of Judicature, the Receipt of Pledges with more Confidence and Boldneſs, than the Owners demanded the Reſtitution of them.

Other Women, as diſorderly and as well born as *Sempronia*, but not ſo young, nor ſo beautiful, had a hand in the Plot, in hopes to ſee all theſe Debts acquitted, which they had contracted in an advanced Age, to ſupply the Wants of their young Gallants. CATILINE drew them over to his Party,

ty, by procuring them ſuch Men as they liked beſt, with a Deſign either to gain over their Huſbands to his Party, or by their Means to get rid of them.

In ſhort, all the *Roman* Youth that had been bred in Luxury, and were grown effeminate with nice Living; all that were ruined, and could no longer follow their extravagant Courſes; all that were ambitious and aſpiring to the chief Poſts in the Government; others, who had not of themſelves Power enough to be revenged on their too potent Enemies; all theſe People, animated with different Paſſions, join'd and favoured *Catiline*. *Catiline's Creatures deſcribed.*

This Chief of the Party, to tie them the ſtronger, promiſes ſome to diſcharge their Debts: he actually gives Money to others; to ſome he procures the Women they were in Love with; the Revengeful he flatters with a Proſpect of ſeeing their Enemies proſcribed; and he amuſes All with the Eſtates and Honours they ſhould obtain in a new Revolution. But at the ſame time he repreſents to them, that they muſt ſet all their Induſtry to work, to get Him choſen Conſul; that it would be no leſs advantageous to the Party to procure *Caius Antonius* to be his Colleague, who was one of the Candidates, and with whom he had of old lived in good Amity; that afterwards he might let him into the Secret; and that if once they were both inveſted with the Sovereign Magiſtracy, and at the Head of the Legions, there could never be a Power ſufficient to oppoſe the Execution of their Deſigns.

It's true, they could never have choſe a fitter time. POMPEY was then making War, in the fartheſt Parts of the *Eaſt*. That General, carried on by the Deſire of filling the whole Earth with the Glory of his Name, was purſuing the *Arabians*, whom it was eaſier to defeat, than to meet with.

There

There was no Army in *Italy*. The People, always greedy of new Things, ſaw with Pleaſure the Riſe of a Party, which ſeem'd to threaten nothing but the Authority of the Senate: And this very Senate, compoſed of ſo many wiſe Heads, ſlept ſecure, falſly imagining that the Leaders of that Party did not deſerve their Attention.

The Conſpiracy diſcover'd.

However, as it was very difficult that the Deſigns of ſuch Men, as were continually rioting, ſhould long remain a Secret, *Cicero* heard of it firſt by *Fulvia*, a Woman of a noble Family, which however ſhe diſhonoured by her Criminal Intrigues with *Quintus Curius*, one of the Heads of the Conſpiracy.

Curius had ruined himſelf in keeping her Company; and he continued in Favour, as long as ſhe found her Account in it. But as ſoon as his Stock began to grow low, Indifference and Coldneſs took Place of that intereſted and mercenary Love: And *Fulvia* deſpiſed him, as ſoon as ſhe ceaſed to to be a Gainer by him.

Curius, deſiring to enjoy former Favours, is rebuked and denied: Thinking at firſt, that a Rival had ſupplanted him, he ſtorms and threatens: Afterwards he ſtoops to the loweſt and meaneſt Submiſſions; at laſt he diſcovers, with much Shame, that he owed all *Fulvia*'s Favours to his Money. As he could neither ſupply her with more, nor free himſelf from her Chains, he endeavours to pleaſe her at leaſt with fair Hopes. He diſcovers the whole Plot to her, and opens her a Scene of new Treaſures in the Succeſs of his well-laid Deſigns.

But whether *Fulvia*, like all Women of that Stamp, valued the Promiſes of a ruined Lover but little; or whether ſhe entertained a very ill Opinion of an Undertaking managed by young People; ſhe made a Diſcovery of all ſhe had heard to ſome Men of Diſtinction, yet without naming her Author:

Author: And this she did, that she might not find her self involved in a Matter of Treason. It immediately spread all over *Rome*. *Cicero*, who was very intent on all things relating to the Publick, traced these Reports up to the very Head. He saw *Fulvia*, gain'd her, and she sold him the Secret of a Man whom she never loved, and whom she was afterwards civil to for no other Reason, than that she might draw more Secrets from him, as she had promised *Cicero* she would.

Besides the general Interest of his Country, *Cicero* had a private End to serve in this nice Enquiry. The time of chusing Consuls was very near: He was one of the Candidates himself: CATILINE was one of those that put up for it. That Man, who was of an illustrious Family, never spoke of That of *Cicero* but with the utmost Contempt. He commonly called him an Upstart, a New Man, that is, one whose Father nor Ancestors had ever bore any of those Magistracies which enobled their Posterity. *Cicero*, on the other hand, neglected nothing that could render CATILINE odious, and even suspected of Designs against the publick Liberty. Nothing was fitter to prepossess the People against that *Patrician*, than the Discovery of his ill Designs. *Cicero* succeeded in it; and CATILINE contributed himself towards it, by his rough and fierce Behaviour, and by dropping Threats at a time when it should have been his Study how to gain the Friendship and Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens. All those that truly loved their Country, united to make him lose his Election. *Catiline* was excluded with Scorn and Indignation, and that high Office was conferred on *Cicero*. Cicero *Consul.* *Year of* Rome, 690.

Caius Antonius was appointed his Collegue, of a *Plebeian* but a very noted Family, deriving its Pedigree from a Son of *Hercules*. *Antonius* was a Man naturally lazy, a Lover of Ease and Pleasure, and who hitherto had no further concerned him-

himſelf in Affairs of Government, than was neceſſary to ſhow that he was not abſolutely unfit for them. The only Reaſon why they fix'd upon him for *Cicero*'s Collegue, was, that the *Romans* were convinc'd, that a Man of that Character would, without any Reluctance, follow *Cicero*'s Advice, and concur in every Thing that ſhould be thought neceſſary by that great Man to diſſipate *Catiline*'s Faction. The Friends and Creatures of that Ringleader, who thought themſelves ſure of his Election, were quite confounded when they ſaw *Cicero* choſen. They dreaded him on Account of that powerful Eloquence, with which he carry'd all before him in the Aſſemblies; and they knew, that he was not leſs valued on Account of his Probity, and his unmoveable Attachment to the Laws. The Dread of feeling the Rigor thereof themſelves, under ſo clear-ſighted and ſevere a Magiſtrate, made ſeveral of thoſe factious People abandon the Party and Intereſt of *Cataline*. But this Defection made no Alteration in that Deſperado, who was determin'd to periſh, if he could not reign. He got ſome new Aſſociates in their ſtead, and borrow'd on all Sides. By his Order, Arms and Proviſions were laid up in ſeveral Places; and he ſent *C. Manlius* into *Tuſcany*, *Septimius* into the *Mark* of *Ancona*, and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*, there to raiſe Men underhand, and endeavour to ſecure to his Intereſt ſuch Officers and Veteran Soldiers, ſettled in thoſe Provinces, as had ſerv'd with him under *Sylla*. Whilſt ſo dangerous a Man was increaſing the Number of his Creatures with all poſſible Diligence and Application, and was getting together Arms and Troops to enable himſelf to ſeize upon the Government with an arm'd Force, a Tribune of the People was forming a like Deſign, but under more ſpecious Colours: His Name was *Publius Servilius Rullus*. This Tribune was the more to be fear'd, as he employ'd

Catiline's Conduct.

Agrarian Schemes of the Tribune Rullus.

employ'd no other Methods than Perſuaſion; and ſeem'd to have nothing elſe in View, than to render the Condition of the Common People happier than it was.

It may have been obſerv'd more than once in this Work, That whenever the *Romans* had vanquiſh'd their Enemies, they were wont to take Part of their Lands from them: That thoſe Lands were ſometimes farm'd out, to increaſe the Revenue of the State; and That they were alſo often divided and ſhar'd out among the poorer Citizens, who paid the Commonwealth but an eaſy Rent for them. This publick Domain increas'd with the Fortune of the Commonwealth and the Spoils of ſo many States which the *Romans* had conquer'd in the three Parts of the World. *Rome* was in Poſſeſſion of Lands in the ſeveral Cantons of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and the adjacent Iſles, in *Spain*, in *Africa*, in *Greece*, in *Macedonia*, and all over *Aſia*. In a Word, they had incorporated into the publick Domain, the peculiar Domains of as many free Cities, Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as the *Romans* had conquer'd and ſubdued. The Produce and Income of them was carry'd into the *Roman* Treaſury. That was the Fund out of which the Armies were ſubſiſted, and all publick Expences anſwer'd and diſcharg'd. Cicer. in Rulliana. Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

RULLUS, being rais'd to the Tribuneſhip, undertook to have the ſole Diſpoſal of all thoſe Lands to himſelf. He brought over into his Scheme moſt of his Collegues, and ſeveral Senators of the firſt Rank, whom, from the Succeſs of his Project, he made to hope for immenſe Riches, and an abſolute Authority: Two Motives that are generally prevalent with moſt Men, and are commonly the Rule of their Conduct.

RULLUS, having form'd his Party, prepared the Plan of a new Law, importing, That for the Relief of the Common People, there ſhould

be *Decemvirs* choſen out of hand, who ſhould have Power to ſell all thoſe private Domains which had been incorporated into the Domain of the Commonwealth, ſince the Conſulate of *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius:* That they ſhould likewiſe ſell all the Foreſts in *Italy:* That the Generals of Armies, and other Officers of the Commonwealth, who ſhould have any Monies in their Hands that had not yet been paid into the Treaſury, ſhould be legally diſcharg'd, by paying thoſe Sums to the *Decemvirs*; and that thoſe Commiſſioners ſhould employ all thoſe Sums in the buying up the different Eſtates, ſituate in *Italy*, which ſhould afterwards be ſhar'd out among the Common People; ſo that without diſpoſſeſſing any of the Nobility of their ancient Uſurpations, each poor Citizen ſhould have a ſmall Eſtate in his own Native Country to ſubſiſt on.

Rullus, to gain the Multitude alſo over to his Side in Behalf of this Law, added, That the *Decemvirs* ſhould have Power to ſettle new Colonies in ſuch Towns of *Italy*, as they ſhould think proper. That they ſhould have Leave to repeople *Capua*, to conduct thither five thouſand Inhabitants from *Rome*, of which each *Decemvir* ſhould name five hundred at his own Pleaſure; and that between them ſhould be ſhar'd the Territory of that City, and of *Stella*, which hitherto had been let out to farm for the Benefit of the Publick.

It was enacted by the ſame Law, That the Propoſer of the Law ſhould of Right preſide at the Aſſembly held for the Choice of the *Decemvirs*: By which Article, Rullus reſerv'd to himſelf the chief Direction and Authority in this whole Affair. He added, That the Power of theſe Commiſſioners ſhould be uncontrollable, and no Body ſhould have Liberty of appealing from their Ordinances to any other Power; and that they ſhould be inveſted with this Authority in *Rome*, and all over the

the *Roman* Empire, for the Space of five Years: That they ſhould have the Right of taking the *Auſpices*; and have Lictors, and ſuch other Officers, as uſed to attend the chief Magiſtrates of the Commonwealth: That they ſhould have Power to chuſe two hundred of the *Equeſtrian* Order, to put their Decrees in Execution in the ſeveral Provinces. *Rullus*, under Pretence of avoiding the Confuſion and Tumults, which commonly happen'd in the General Aſſemblies of the whole *Roman* People, but in effect to make himſelf Maſter of the Election of the *Decemvirs*, propos'd, That they ſhould not be choſen by any more than by ſeventeen Tribes, which ſhould be drawn by Lot; and that it ſhould be ſufficient to have the Votes of nine Tribes, to be declar'd duly elected. And, to exclude *Pompey*, whoſe Intereſt he ſtood much in fear of, from that Dignity, and who was then commanding Armies in the remoteſt Parts of *Aſia*, he added, That no Citizen, abſent from *Rome*, ſhould ſtand Candidate for the *Decemvirate*.

How much ſoever this extenſive Power ought to have been ſuſpected in a Commonwealth, yet did *Rullus* ſee a vaſt Number of Senators, and the whole People without Exception, for his Project. The firſt, urg'd on by their Ambition, hoped to be choſen *Decemvirs*; and the Common People flatter'd themſelves they ſhould have a Share in thoſe Lands that were to be bought in *Italy*. *Rullus* ſoon ſaw himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Party; and the Conſul *Antonius* himſelf, the Collegue of *Cicero*, did not diſlike theſe Novelties. *Rullus's Succeſs.*

It was ſaid, That being loaded with Debts, he look'd on the Place of a *Decemvir*, and the extraordinary Power annex'd to it, as an infallible Means to repair his Fortune; becauſe of the vaſt Sums of Money that ſhould go through his Hands, and that he ſhould have the diſpoſing of: Many

even ſuſpected him of ſecretly favouring *Catiline*'s Faction.

Plut. in Cic. D. H. l. 37. *Cic. in Sextiana, Mureniana, & Piſoniana.* Saluſt.

As the Authority which he had by his Conſulate was of great Weight, *Cicero* undertook to bring him off. Intereſt was the only Way to ſucceed in it: That Conſideration made him reſign to *Antony* the Government of *Macedonia*, with the Command of the Army, which by Lot was fallen to himſelf. He contented himſelf with the Government of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which brought in a leſs Income.

The Method which the Conſuls obſerv'd in the Government of the Commonwealth.

It is univerſally known, that the Conſuls, after their Election, were wont to divide betwixt them the whole Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth: That one of thoſe ſovereign Magiſtrates commonly ſtay'd at *Rome*, and at the Head of the Senate, to preſide therein; and that he hardly ever went out of the City, unleſs ſome very important War forc'd Both the Conſuls to put themſelves at the Head of Armies, and to take the Field. He that took upon him the Command of the Forces, had at the ſame Time the Government of the Provinces bordering on that where the Forces were, and the two Conſuls generally determin'd the Choice of theſe two different Employments by Lot.

The Conſul, entring upon the Provinces of the Empire, received there the ſame Honours which every where elſe were only paid to the Sovereigns of the Country. During his Conſulate, he enjoy'd an abſolute Authority; and unleſs he was of an uncommon Probity, he ſeldom return'd home without being loaded with immenſe Riches. *Antonius*, whoſe indifferent Circumſtances requir'd ſuch an Help, accepted of his Colleague's Proffer with Joy; and, from a Principle of Gratitude, quitted that Party which before he ſeem'd to favour; following the Dictates of *Cicero*'s wiſe Counſels, and reſolving to join with him in all his Meaſures for the Good of his Country.

Cicero,

Cicero, now ſure of his Collegue, turn'd all his Thoughts againſt *Rullus*. As he was not yet acquainted with the Bottom of that Tribune's Intentions, that he might penetrate into them, he got ſome of their common Friends to remonſtrate with him, that being Both inveſted with two ſeveral Dignities in the ſame Year, it was for the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, that they ſhould act jointly, and with Unanimity; that he ſhould ever find him diſpos'd to favour any Thing tending to the Advantage of the People; and that he deſir'd him to impart to him the Plan of a Law, which the World reported he was to propoſe, to the End that if it appear'd juſt to him, he might back it with all his Credit. But *Rullus*, rightly judging that a Man ſo much attach'd to the maintaining of the ancient Laws, and ſo jealous of the publick Liberty as *Cicero* was, would never approve thoſe Innovations which he deſign'd to introduce into the Government, anſwer'd nothing to thoſe civil Advances, but in very looſe and general Terms, which increas'd the Conſul's Suſpicions. He even ſhunn'd his Preſence, that he might not be oblig'd to explain himſelf to him; and *Cicero* ſaw that he ſhould never know any Thing certain about the Law, but when the Law ſhould be publickly propos'd. Yet, that he might not be ſurpriz'd, he ſent Secretaries to all the Aſſemblies of the People, to obſerve every Thing that ſhould happen there, and to write down, in the beſt Manner they could, all the Articles of that Law, and what might be ſaid in relation to that Subject, if it came to a Debate. Cic. in Rulliana 1. Cicero *traverſes* Rullus's *Deſigns*.

It was by means of thoſe Secretaries, he heard, that *Rullus* had propos'd his Law in full Aſſembly: They brought him an exact Copy of it, and likewiſe of all the Diſcourſes made on that Occaſion, either by *Rullus* himſelf, or his Adherents.

Cicero, furniſh'd with this Piece, call'd immediately the Senate together. Having read the Law to them, which contain'd more than forty Articles, he remonſtrated to that auguſt Body, how much the Propoſals of the Tribune ought to be ſuſpected, and even hated, by all that ſincerely lov'd Liberty and the Quiet of the Commonwealth. As he ſpoke to a Body of Men entirely jealous of their own Authority, he made them ſenſible how much it was inconſiſtent with the Authority of the Senate, to create thoſe *Decemvirs* with ſo abſolute a Power all over the Empire, and for ſo long a Time as five whole Years; that there was a new kind a Magiſtracy ariſing, which would aboliſh all the old ones; and that the Sale of the Lands that belong'd to the Domain of the State, would infallibly deſtroy the principal Strength of the Commonwealth.

Cicero *makes a Speech in the Senate, againſt* Rullus.

" Know, Conſcript Fathers, (ſaid he) That our " Tribunes have a Mind to ſell the Lands of the " *Attalians* and the *Olimpenians*, which *Servilius*, " by his Conqueſts, had added to the Domain of " the Publick. Thence theſe Merchants, who have " reſolv'd to ſell the whole Commonwealth, are " to croſs over into *Macedonia*, and there, by way " of Auction, ſell the royal Lands of *Philip* and " *Perſeus*, acquir'd by the Valour and Courage " of *Paulus Emilius*. The fertile Lands of *Corinth*, " which, through the wiſe Conduct of *Mummius*, " make Part of the publick Revenue, will not " eſcape them. Next, they'll ſail over to *Spain*. " After having ſold the Lands which we poſſeſs " near *New Carthage*, they'll leave *Europe*; they'll " croſs over into *Africa*, and there they will ſell " the Territory of *Old Carthage*. *Aſia* preſents " them next with new Eſtates, and a new Field " of Plunder. *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithinia*, and " *Paphlagonia*; all the Lands, that belong'd par- " ticularly to the ſeveral Princes, who reign'd

" in

" in thoſe large Provinces, will be put up to Sale " next. By the Sale of all theſe Domains of the " Commonwealth, they are going at once to dry " up all the Springs whence the Treaſury uſed to " be ſupply'd, divert the ſureſt Funds for paying " our Legions, and deprive *Rome* and all *Italy* of " the Supplies they received from thoſe Provinces " in Times of Dearth and Famine.

Cicero took next into Conſideration the Article about the Colonies which the *Decemvirs* were to ſettle in ſuch Towns of *Italy* as they ſhould think fit, and to which they were to aſſign the beſt Lands. He ſhow'd, that *Rullus*, and the other Tribunes, had no other Deſign by this Project, but to fill the Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with their own Creatures, that they might afterwards the eaſier make themſelves Maſters of *Rome* it ſelf, and of the Government.

" It is not only (continued *Cicero*) of our great " Loſſes, and the leſſening of our publick Reve- " nue, I complain; it is againſt that abſolute " Power deſign'd for the *Decemvirate*, that I ſtand " up at preſent. My Fear and Uneaſineſs is only " for the Welfare of our Country, and the Preſer- " vation of our Liberty. For, which way will " you be able to reſiſt a Set of Men, that after " they have fill'd *Italy* with their *Satellites* and " Guards, will have in their own Hands all the " Treaſures of the Commonwealth? Never fear, " (ſays ſomebody;) out of thoſe Monies ac- " cording to that Law, they are to buy Lands " in *Italy* without Delay. Mighty well; but, " Are they very ſure, that in thoſe fertile and " pleaſant Countries, they ſhall meet with Peo- " ple enow diſpoſed to ſell their Lands and pa- " ternal Eſtates? And if there ſhould be no Sel- " lers, if there ſhould be no room to lay thoſe " Monies out that they ſhall have in their Hands, " What will become of our Money? That is ea- " ſily

"ſily anſwer'd, Conſcript Fathers: If you but al-
"low them for five Years that abſolute Power
"granted by the Law, you have your ſelves put
"them in a Condition of never being accountable
"to you: And if the Law paſſes, the Common-
"wealth loſes in one Day her Domains, her Fi-
"nances, and her Liberty.

Rullus's Law rejected in the Senate.

In ſhort, *Cicero*, who was no leſs a Statesman than he was an Orator, ſpoke with ſo much Force and Eloquence; he demonſtrated ſo plainly, that *Rullus* himſelf, and his Collegues and Adherents, had no other Aim but to enrich themſelves at the Expence of the Publick, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, that the Law was rejected by the Senate almoſt unanimouſly.

Though *Rullus* and his Party were very much daunted at the Impreſſion that *Cicero*'s ſtrong Reaſoning and invincible Eloquence had made on the Senate, they notwithſtanding carried the Affair before the People, who alone had the Right of deciding finally, and where they hoped to find ſo much the greater Favour for their Law, as it ſeem'd chiefly calculated for the Advantage of the common People. And indeed, all the Populace look'd on *Rullus* as another *Gracchus*, as their Patron and Benefactor; being deluded by the Temptation of the Lands promiſed to be purchaſed for them in *Italy*.

But *Cicero*, tho' well appriſed of that Diſpoſition in the People, abated nothing of his Courage and Zeal; and on the Day when the Aſſembly was held, he order'd the whole Senate to attend him thither. He accordingly appeared in the *Forum* at the Head of that Auguſt Body, preceded by his Lictors, and with all the Majeſty of a Sovereign Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth. He mounted the *Roſtrum*, and without minding either the Invectives of the Tribunes, or the Clamours of the People, he began his Speech; and under-

undertook to ſhow even the People themſelves how much that new Law was contrary to their true Intereſts, and the publick Liberty.

But as he had to deal with a Multitude prejudic'd by their Tribunes againſt every thing that came from the Senate; like an artful Orator, he took a very dextrous Method to inſinuate himſelf into their Confidence. He began his Diſcourſe with telling the People, that he was himſelf a *Plebeian* originally, born in the *Equeſtrian* Order, and that he was beholden for his Conſulate to nobody but the People themſelves. *Cicero makes a Speech, before the People, againſt* Rullius. Cic. in Rull. 2.

"I am (ſaid he) the firſt new Man whom in "our Days You have made a Conſul; and by "chuſing me, you have gain'd a Poſt, of which "the Nobility was always before poſſeſſed, and "which they defended with all their Might. You "have raiſed me to it with ſo uncommon an Una"nimity, that never any *Patrician* arrived to it "with ſo much Splendor, nor any *Plebeian* with "ſo much Glory. And what ought to increaſe "my Attachment and my Gratitude towards the "People, is, that in the Aſſembly, called for my "Election, you never came to a Balloting, which "are Signs of only a ſecret Liberty; but you "have exalted me to this high Station with Ac"clamations and publick Rejoicings, which per"haps do me more Honour, than the very Dig"nity you have beſtowed on me. Since then I "am a new Man, and a *Plebeian*, that I owe "the Dignity I am inveſted with entirely to "the People; I openly declare before the whole "Senate, and before all the Nobility, that I am "reſolved to be a Popular Conſul; that nothing, "during my Conſulate, ſhall be ſo dear to me "as the Intereſts of that People to whom I "have ſuch great Obligations: And, if poſſible, "I will prevent thoſe Funds from being ruined "and ſunk, whence they have their chief

"Strength,

" Strength, and receive their Subſiſtence in Times " of War.

" Not that I diſapprove all the Laws made con- " cerning the Sharing of Lands. There are ſome " which I hold in great Eſteem. The Memory of " the two *Gracchi* ſhall always be dear to me; " thoſe illuſtrious Brothers, who ſacrificed their " Lives to recover ſuch Lands for the People, as " ſome private Perſons had unjuſtly uſurped. The " *Lex Sempronia* will always be reſpected by all " honeſt Men: But I cannot conſent to that pro- " poſed by *Rullus*, who, to dazzle your Eyes, " vainly brags of the Lands which he has not, " nor ever can have, in his Power to beſtow on " you. Under ſo plauſible a Pretence, his De- " ſign is to deprive us all of our Liberty, and " make himſelf the Tyrant of the Commonwealth. " This I undertake to make you plainly ſenſible " of; and if after you ſhall have heard me, you " are not ſatisfied with the Solidity of my Proofs, " I promiſe you to deſiſt. I will receive the Law " at your Hands; I will ſign it; and as a popu- " lar Conſul, I will conform my ſelf to the Ma- " jority of the People.

Then taking the Law before him, he read it all over; and as, when he argued againſt it in the Senate, he chiefly applied himſelf to demonſtrate, how the Creation of thoſe new Magiſtrates would entirely ruin the Authority of the Old ones; Now, ſpeaking more eſpecially to the People, he expatiated upon all thoſe Articles that might affect their Liberty and the Privilege each Citizen had of giving his Voice at Elections, and thereby to determine which Laws ſhould, or ſhould not paſs.

" The firſt Article of the Law, (ſaid he) or- " dains, that He who propoſed the ſame, ſhall " eſtabliſh *Decemvirs* by the Suffrages of Seven- " teen Tribes choſen by Lot; and that he ſhall be " elected a *Decemvir*, whom nine of thoſe ſeven-

" teen Tribes ſhall have voted for. I would fain
" aſk this audacious Tribune, how he dares de-
" prive eighteen Tribes of their Right of Vo-
" ting? Was there ever one Inſtance in the Com-
" monwealth, of a Triumvir or a Decemvir be-
" ing created, without the Concurrence of all the
" five and thirty Tribes? What can be the De-
" ſign of this Tribune, in introducing ſo ſurpri-
" zing an Innovation in our Government? You
" ſhall know it preſently: He does not want for
" Contrivances; he only wants Honeſty and Fi-
" delity to the *Roman* People: He has been want-
" ing to Juſtice, and has no ways regarded your
" Rights or Intereſts. *Rullus* moreover pretends,
" that the Author of this Law ſhall preſide in
" the Aſſembly of the *Roman* People; that is to
" ſay, *Rullus* ordains, That *Rullus* ſhall hold the
" Aſſembly. The ſame *Rullus*, who will truſt
" nothing to the entire Body of the *Romans*, or-
" dains, That the Tribes ſhall caſt Lots. Now,
" as he is to preſide therein, and has a lucky
" Hand, what Tribe think you is like to come
" out of the Balloting-Box, but ſuch as he ſhall
" approve of? And by a Train of ſuch Contri-
" vances, thoſe whom the nine Tribes choſen
" by *Rullus* ſhall have named to be Decemvirs,
" will, under the Authority and Direction of
" *Rullus*, be our Lords and our Maſters, and
" the abſolute Diſpenſers of our Eſtates. Was
" ever any Project more unjuſt, more audacious,
" and more contrary to our Laws? And who is
" the Author of this new Law? *Rullus*. Who
" is that Man, who dares deprive the greateſt
" Part of the People of their Right of Voting?
" *Rullus*. Who is he, that has a Secret at hand,
" to draw out of the Urn none but the Names
" of ſuch Tribes, where he is ſure to have the
" greateſt Sway? *Rullus*. Who ſhall name the
" Decemvirs according to his own Ends and In-
" tereſt?

" tereſt? *Rullus.* Who ſhall be the firſt of theſe " *Decemvirs?* Is that a Queſtion? Who ſhould, " but *Rullus?* In ſhort; who ſhall be the abſo- " lute Maſter of all the Domains and Revenues of " the Commonwealth? The Sole *Rullus*. Can " you, Sirs, that are the Maſters and Kings of " many Nations, tamely take ſuch Uſage? Scarce " would ſo ſhameful a Prevarication be ſuffer'd " under the Empire of a Tyrant, and by a Com- " munity of Slaves.

Cicero, having thus endeavoured to raiſe the Indignation of the People againſt this Attempt upon their moſt legal Rights, proceeded next to the other Articles of that Law. He ſhowed the Injuſtice and Inconveniencies of them all. He repeated in this ſecond Speech Part of what he had already ſaid before the Senate. He added, That a Man, without any lawful Authority, after having procured himſelf to be choſen a *Decemvir*, againſt the uſual Method of Elections, would think himſelf authoriſed to ſell the Domain of the Commonwealth to whom he pleaſed, and at what Rate he pleaſed. " What monſtrous Robbery is this? " cry'd the Conſul. Who can doubt, but that " the Buyer and Seller will often be the ſame " Perſon; tho' perhaps the true Buyer may not " appear but under a borrowed Name? But pray, " where is this Scene to be acted? Do you fancy " it will be in the publick *Forum*, in the Sight " of all the Citizens, as the Cenſors uſe, when " they farm out the Revenues of the Common- " wealth? No, Sirs; *Rullus* nor his Collegues " care not to be ſo publick. They deſign to " lurk in dark Corners, that ſhall conceal their " Frauds and Robberies: The Author of the " Law, who has taken all his Meaſures right, " provides and ordains, That they ſhall be at " Liberty to make their Sales where-ever they " ſhall think fit.

We ſhould be obliged wholly to tranſcribe the three Speeches which *Cicero* made on this Occaſion, if we would rehearſe every particular Argument which this excellent Orator oppoſed to the Eſtabliſhment of ſo dangerous a Law. In ſhort, he ſpoke ſo much to the Purpoſe, that he convinced the People, that they could not paſs and receive it without deſtroying their own Liberty, and ruining the Commonwealth. All the Projects of *Rullus* and his Collegues were rejected unanimouſly. *On the Firſt of* January, ſaid *Cicero* in his Oration againſt *Piſo*, *I freed the Senate, and all honeſt Men, from the Fear of this Law.* *The People reject this Law.* Cicero in Piſon. Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

But it proved a harder Taſk for him to diſſipate the Terrors which were occaſioned by the ill Deſigns of CATILINE and his Party. Not that all the World was equally at the Bottom of his Plot: Various were the Opinions about it in *Rome*: Thoſe that were the moſt favourable to that Ring-leader of Sedition, pretended, that all his Aim was againſt *Cicero*, whom he hated, ſaid they, for having carried the laſt Election for Conſul from him. Others gave out, that this ambitious *Patrician*, educated under the abſolute Government of *Sylla*, deſigned, during the Abſence of POMPEY, who was at a great Diſtance, to revive a perpetual Dictatorſhip, as he had done. And all theſe Reports, whoſe Authors were unknown, had a Mixture of Falſity and Truth, and wonderfully increaſed the Uneaſineſs of the Senate and the Fears of honeſt Men. *Conſequences and Effects of* Catiline's *Conſpiracy.*

Cicero was better inform'd: *Fulvia* mentioned above, hid nothing from him of what ſhe could learn by her Lover *Curius*, one of the Heads of the Conſpiracy. But the Evidence of one ſingle Woman of ill Repute was not ſufficient to authorize a regular Proſecution againſt a Man of CATILINE's Birth, whoſe Relations and Friends were the moſt conſiderable not only in the Senate but the whole City.

City. The Conſul ſaw very well, that he needed other Proofs, and ſuch Evidences as could not be excepted againſt. He therefore ſent Spies ſecretly into all their Cabals. He even gain'd over ſome of the Conſpirators themſelves, who, as he directed them, pretended to be the warmeſt Promoters of the Plot. It was by Their Help that he diſcovered the Deſigns of CATILINE, the various Sentiments of thoſe of his Party, the Number and Quality of his Adherents, and the general, as well as the private, Views of each of the Conſpirators.

As he always kept faithful Spies among thoſe Hot-heads, he was in a manner Witneſs of their Diſcourſes, Reſolutions, and even their Thoughts. He learn'd, with as much Surprize as Sorrow, that this Band of Profligates had form'd a Plot to ſet Fire to ſeveral Parts of the City: That during the Confuſion and Uproar which ſo general a Conflagration would cauſe, they had agreed to murder the chief Men of the Senate in their very Houſes; and that at the ſame time they would cauſe the Troops under *Manlius* to advance, in order to make themſelves Maſters of *Rome* and the Government. Whilſt the Conſpirators were hugging themſelves with the Proſpect of immenſe Treaſures, and a boundleſs Authority from the Succeſs of their cruel Deſigns, News was brought and ſpread all over *Rome*, That POMPEY, having ſubdued a great Part of the *Eaſt*, was returning to *Italy* at the Head of a victorious Army. *Catiline*, frighten'd at this unſeaſonable Accident, which ruin'd all his Deſigns, reſolved to haſten the Execution of them. He confers with the Chief of his Party; he ſpeaks to each of them in private; he renews his Promiſes, and the Hopes he had given them, That in a Change of the Government they ſhould find an entire Satisfaction of all their Wiſhes. At laſt he calls them all together in the Night, in a private Part of *M. Lecca*'s Houſe, and repreſents

ſents to them, that *Pompey*'s Return would defeat all their Meaſures, unleſs they had Courage enough to be beforehand with him. That their Undertaking was ſo much the eaſier, as there were no Troops neither in *Rome* nor in *Italy*; and their Enemies might be cruſhed before they could foreſee the Blow that was prepared for them.

"It is in your Power, ſaid he, to be Maſters of *Rome* To-morrow. *Pompey* is yet far off; the Town is without any Defence; and the Senate compoſed moſtly of People without Courage, depreſs'd with Age, or unmann'd by Luxury. As for us, we want neither Strength nor Courage. We are numerous, and moſt of us of the beſt Families in the *Roman* State. The People, who always hated the Senate, will declare for us; and we have out of *Rome* all thoſe brave Soldiers of *Sylla*, who, united under the Command of *Manlius*, wait only for your Orders. It behoves us only to begin; the whole depends upon our Quickneſs and Diſpatch in executing; and you will meet with Honours, Riches and Offices in the Succeſs of your Deſigns." Saluſt. Catiline's *Speech.*

This Diſcourſe was receiv'd with great Applauſe. Then ſeveral Opinions were offered, and the moſt violent was ſtill the best liked. As they ſtood in fear of *Cicero*'s Foreſight and Firmneſs, they agreed to begin with making away with a Man, who, by the Authority that his Conſulate gave him, might traverſe the Execution of their Projects. It was reſolved at the ſame time to ſet Fire to an hundred different Parts of the City, to cut the Water-Pipes, in order to diſable them from putting out the Fire; to murder the whole Senate; and to ſpare none but *Pompey*'s Children, whom they ſhould retain as Hoſtages, againſt the Power and Reſentment of that formidable Warrior. That next to this, CATILINE ſhould put himſelf at the Head of the Forces which *Manlius* had raiſed,

and

and ſhould ſettle his Authority in the State in the ſame Manner that *Sylla* had done before; and ſhould even change the Conſtitution as he ſhould find it moſt for his Intereſt. *Cethegus*, and *Cornelius*, a *Roman* Knight, offer'd to go and ſtab *Cicero* in his own Houſe; and the Night preceding the *Saturnalia* was fix'd for firing the City.

From Council they went to a plentiful Entertainment, which was accompanied with moſt horrible Debauchery, and thoſe ſhameful Crimes which Nature it ſelf ſtarts at. It is ſaid, that young Men were not aſham'd to proſtitute themſelves to the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy; and that *Catiline*, to bind all the Conſpirators with the Bonds of equal Guilt and Fury, preſented them with a Bowl fill'd with human Blood and Wine mingled, of which they all drank. But ſome of theſe Facts are not ſo well prov'd in Hiſtory; and, perhaps, were only grounded on the general Prejudice againſt that Monſter of a Man; a Prejudice which inclin'd Men to believe, that the ſame Root which produc'd ſo great a Crime as the Conſpiracy, carry'd in it ſelf every Thing abominable.

The Conſpirators were no ſooner parted, but *Cicero* had Notice given him by *Fulvia*, of the Danger of the Commonwealth, and particularly of the Deſigns form'd againſt his own Life. As he was a Man of very regular Manners, wiſe, temperate, and beſides of great Experience, he had a vaſt Advantage over a Parcel of furious and paſſionate People, whoſe Deſigns were always contriv'd in Wine and Riot. He began with regulating every Thing in his own Houſe; and *Cethegus* calling there the next Morning early, under Pretence that he had Buſineſs of great Moment to communicate to the Conſul, Entrance was denied him. He went away complaining and threatning, which render'd him ſtill more ſuſpected.

Plut. in Cic.

Cethegus goes to Cicero's Houſe to kill him.

How-

However, *Cicero* not thinking his own Authority sufficient to dissipate so powerful a Cabal, call'd the Senate together: He went thither, attended with a vast Number of his Friends and Clients; and he put a Coat of Mail under his Robe, which he shew'd designedly, thereby to intimate the Danger he was exposed to. He communicated the whole Plot to the Senate. He told them, That the Commonwealth had Enemies within, as well as out of *Rome*; and that whilst *Catiline* was forming the Design of setting Fire to the City, and murdering the whole Senate and the chief Citizens, *Manlius* was on his Side, endeavouring to make *Tuscany* revolt: That he had put himself at the Head of all the Vagabonds in *Italy*, and That the Inhabitants of the Colonies planted by *Sylla*, and the veteran Soldiers of that Dictator, who had spent in Luxury and Excess All that their former Robberies had supplied them with, had join'd that Rebel, and were preparing to come to *Rome*, in order to renew the Fury of *Sylla* and *Marius*'s Proscriptions. Cicero *convenes the Senate.*

As there were a good many of the Conspirators that were Senators themselves, *Cicero* did not think it yet a proper Time to name those by whom he had been inform'd. But the Confidence and Trust in his Probity was so great, that the Senate, without requiring he should prove his Allegations, or produce Witnesses, by a publick Decree ordained, that the Consuls should take care, *That no Detriment came to the Commonwealth:* An ancient Form, by which the Magistrates for the Time being had the ampleſt Power conferr'd on them; which, however, they were never trusted with, but in the greatest Dangers of the State.

Cicero, invested with so great an Authority, which his Collegue entirely left to him, sends immediately certain Senators, and some of the trustiest and worthiest Men of the Commonwealth, to the

principal Towns in *Italy*, to retain the People in their Duty. He at the ſame Time ſetted in different Parts of *Rome*, Corps of Guard, to prevent or to ſtop the Incendiaries. The Senate, by his Advice, in order to be better inform'd of the Particulars, promiſes a Pardon, and even a Reward to thoſe of the Conſpirators, who ſhould come and make any uſeful Diſcoveries. But thoſe Profligates were ſo ſtrictly link'd together, and ſo bent upon Miſchief, that among ſo large a Number of them, who were either at *Rome*, or in *Manlius*'s Army, there was not a ſingle Man, whom either the Fear of Puniſhment, or Hopes of Reward, could draw to diſcover the ill Deſigns of his Accomplices. The common People, always deſirous of Novelty, even favour'd that Party, and, as uſual, flatter'd themſelves with bettering their Condition in the Change of the Government, and the publick Diſturbances. *Catiline* himſelf, or his Emiſſaries, had ſpread and propagated among the People of all Degrees, a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion; and you might have found in this Conſpiracy, not only Senators, but Knights, Plebeians, and even Slaves.

The Particulars of their Deſigns were yet better diſcover'd by means of a Packet left by an unknown Perſon with *Craſſus*'s Porter. There were in this Packet Letters directed to ſeveral different People, all without the Name of their Writer, and another without a Direction, which laſt *Craſſus* open'd. He found therein the whole Plan of the Conſpiracy: And was likewiſe admoniſh'd, if he valued his Life, forthwith to leave *Rome*. As no Body was ignorant, that there had always been a pretty great Intimacy between *Catiline* and him, leſt he ſhould make himſelf ſuſpected, he carried the Packet to the Conſul, who caus'd it to be read before the whole Senate. Whilſt that Body was deliberating upon it, *Catiline* came in, as if he had

had no ways been concern'd in the Affair. But when he was going to ſeat himſelf among the Senators, all his Brethren avoided him, and not one would remain upon the ſame Bench with him. *Cicero*, who was Preſident of the Aſſembly, no longer able to conceal his Indignation, directed his Speech to him with that thundring Eloquence, wherewith he uſed ſo effectually to terrify the Guilty.

Cicero *harangues the Senate againſt* Catiline.

"How long, CATILINE, doſt thou deſign to "abuſe our Patience? How long are we yet to "be the Object of thy Fury? How far doſt thou "deſign to carry thy guilty Audaciouſneſs? Don't "you perceive, by the continual Watch all over "the City, by the ſcar'd Looks of the People, "and by the angry Countenance of the Senators, "that your pernicious Deſigns are diſcover'd? "Faithful Eyes are upon all your Proceedings; "you cannot hold any Council ſo ſecret, but that "I hear of it; I am preſent there my ſelf; I am "preſent to your very Thoughts. Do you fancy "that I am ignorant of what paſſed laſt Night at "*M. Lecca*'s Houſe? Did not you there diſtribute "Employments, and divide all *Italy* into Shares "with your Accomplices? Some are to take the "Field under the Command of *Manlius*, and others "to ſtay in the City, to fire it in a hundred diffe- "rent Places at a Time. During the Diſorder "and Tumult occaſion'd by ſo general a Fire, the "Conſuls, and moſt of the Senators, are to be "maſſacred in their own Houſes. The Senate, "that auguſt and ſacred Aſſembly, is inform'd of "the moſt minute Circumſtances of the Plot; yet "does *Catiline* live; not only lives, but is one "amongſt us, hears us, and looks on us as ſo ma- "ny Sacrifices. Whilſt I am now ſpeaking, he is "marking out thoſe whom he deſigns for Death; "yet we are ſo patient, or rather ſo weak, that "we are leſs intent on the Method how to puniſh

" his Crimes, than how we ſhall preſerve our ſelves
" from his Fury.

CATILINE ſtood this vehement Diſcourſe with a deep Diſſimulation; and at firſt, anſwer'd it only by conjuring the Senate, they would not hearken, or give Credit, to the Invectives of his Enemy, and of *a new Man, an Upſtart*, who had not in *Rome* ſo much as a Houſe of his own, and who had forg'd the Plan of a Conſpiracy, to get himſelf a Name, and acquire the Title of *Defender of his Country*. He added to this a great many other Reflections upon *Cicero*; but he was interrupted by a general Murmuring, which hinder'd him from being heard. The whole Senate-houſe rung with nothing but the Names of Incendiary, of Parricide and Enemy to his Country. CATILINE, provok'd at theſe Reproaches, pale with Anger, and his Eyes burning with Rage, cry'd out in a furious Paſſion, That ſince they had provoked him to the utmoſt, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his Fate thoſe who had reſolv'd his Ruin. Upon this he inſtantly went out of the Senate, and call'd to his Houſe *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the Chief of the Conſpirators. He gave them an Account of what had juſt happen'd in the Senate, and made them ſenſible, That he could no longer with Safety ſtay at *Rome*; That he was going to put himſelf at the Head of the Forces which *Manlius* had rais'd for him in ſeveral Parts of *Hetruria*, and that after he had made one Army of them all, he would advance with it to *Rome*: That it was incumbent on them who ſtay'd in Town, to turn all their Thoughts towards the deſtroying of the Conſul, the only Man who could lay an Obſtacle in the way of their Deſigns: That above all Things, he admoniſh'd them to gain the Youth of *Rome* to their Party, and to increaſe the Number of their Friends.

Catiline *quits* Rome.

He

He went away the Night following, accompanied with three hundred arm'd Men, directly to *Manlius*. He had no ſooner aſſembled the Forces that he had made himſelf ſure of, but he aſſumed all the publick Tokens of a Sovereign Magiſtrate, and was preceded by Lictors carrying Faſces before him. The Senate, inform'd of ſo open a Rebellion, ordain'd that the Conſul *Antonius* ſhould immediately march againſt the Rebels at the Head of the Legions, and that *Cicero* ſhould remain in the City, to watch for its Preſervation.

In the mean time *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs of the Conſpiracy, applied themſelves, according to CATILINE's Inſtructions, to the gaining over more Partiſans. They endeavour'd to draw into the Plot the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges*, then at *Rome*. They were come to *Rome*, to deſire the Senate to eaſe them ſomewhat in the Taxes laid on them, the accumulated Intereſt whereof for many Years, did now, through the ruinous Art of Uſurers, amount to more than the real Value of their Lands: But the inſatiable Avarice of thoſe who farm'd thoſe Taxes, and the Inflexibility of the Magiſtrates, was the Occaſion that no Notice was taken of their Miſery: The very Fund and Property of thoſe Eſtates, was not ſufficient to diſcharge the Debts; and they were in a juſt Fear of ſeeing their Wives and Children forthwith ſold for Slaves, to ſatisfy thoſe cruel Exactions.

Catiline's Creatures endeavour to draw the Allobrog Ambaſſadors into their Plot.

Lentulus, having diſcover'd that thoſe Deputies were greatly incens'd againſt the Senate, reſolv'd to take Advantage of their Diſpoſition. As the *Allobroges* were a warlike People, he flatter'd himſelf he ſhould draw a conſiderable Aſſiſtance from them, if he could determine them to take up Arms, and to join CATILINE's Army. *Umbrenus*, one of the Conſpirators, and who had ſome Acquaintance with one of the Deputies, was commiſſion'd

miſſion'd to treat with them. Under pretence of enquiring after their Affairs, he accoſts them, and aſks them what they thought would be the Iſſue of their Buſineſs? *No other than Death* (ſaid they), *ſince the Senate is not moved with our juſt Complaints.* *Umbrenus*, to inſinuate himſelf into their Confidence, pities 'em, blames the Senate's Hard-heartedneſs, offers his own Service, and that of his Friends, beſtirs him much, and ſeemingly ſollicits for them. Theſe good Offices engaged them to a more frequent Converſation; they gradually begin to confide in each other, and at laſt a firm Friendſhip and Union is eſtabliſh'd. Then does *Umbrenus* tell them, (but by way of Secrecy) that they muſt expect nothing from the Senate, whoſe Politicks require them to keep the Subjects of the State in a continual Poverty, and an humble Dependance. He adds, that there was, however, one Remedy left for their Misfortunes, and he knew a Method to deliver them from all their Debts at once: But that it equally required Secrecy and Courage. Thoſe Deputies declared, That no Undertaking could be ſo difficult, but that they were ready for it, if thereby they could but free their Nation from the Tyranny of the Money-Lenders; and they intreated *Umbrenus* at the ſame Time to diſcover to them the Means of breaking their Bonds. But that *Roman* did not think fit to open himſelf more particularly, before he had conferr'd upon it with *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs of the Conſpiracy. His Conduct was approv'd, and, to add more Weight to the Treaty, *Gabinius* was join'd with him. Theſe two Men began their Conferences with the *Allobroges* in *Sempronia*'s Houſe.

Gabinius, after having exacted from them the moſt ſolemn Oaths, diſcover'd the whole Plan of the Plot to them, and the Number and Strength of the Conſpirators, which he made ſtill more

conſi-

conſiderable than they actually were, with Intent to make them ſeem the more formidable. He added, That if their Nation would take up Arms, and join *Catiline*, they ſhould have all the Sureties given them, which they could deſire, of a general Diſcharge of their Debts.

They parted, after ſeveral Propoſals, and agreed to meet again the Night following, to put the Treaty in Form, which as yet was only minuted down. But no ſooner were thoſe Deputies alone, but the Greatneſs of the Danger wherein they were going to plunge their Nation, and the Uncertainty of the Event, began to make them uneaſy. Subſequent Thoughts weaken'd their firſt Reſolutions. On one Side indeed they ſaw an Army in the Field, ſuſtain'd in *Rome* by a powerful Party, compoſed of a great Number of People of the firſt Rank and Diſtinction. But they ſaw on the other Side the lawful Authority, the Conſuls, the Senate, and the Legions. They might even flatter themſelves, that by revealing the Secret of the Conſpiracy, they might by Way of Reward obtain the Abolition, or at leaſt a conſiderable Abatement, of their Debts. *The Allobroges deceive the Conſpirators.*

In this Uncertainty they reſolved to do nothing without the Privity of Q. *Fabius Sanga*, who was the Protector of the *Allobroges*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times, in which all the different Nations, ſubjected or allied to the Commonwealth, had in the Senate one of that Body, who took Care of their Intereſts. *Sanga*, after having repreſented to them the Horror and Danger of ſuch an Undertaking, agreed with them to go inſtantly to the Conſul, and inform him of the Propoſals made to thoſe Deputies. *Cicero* would ſee them himſelf. He gain'd them with more ſolid Hopes and Promiſes than thoſe of the Conſpirators. They devoted themſelves entirely to his Orders, and agreed with him to continue to treat with the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy.

Lentulus hereupon, together with *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and the Principals of that Plot, met ſecretly in a Place agreed on. The Deputies came thither likewiſe: The Affair for which they met was debated anew. The Conſpirators ſhew how advantageous and how eaſy the Thing was: The *Allobroges* ſtart their Difficulties, and demand ſuitable Sureties. At laſt, after many Struggles, they feign to be convinced. The Treaty is written over fair. They ſign it, together with all the Chiefs of the Plot: A Duplicate is made of it, equally ſign'd by all the Parties; and the Deputies demand it ſhould be left and truſted with them, that they might communicate it to the Chiefs of Their Nation, who, ſeeing the Hands of ſo many conſiderable Men, would ſo much the ſooner be diſpoſed to ratify the Treaty. It was agreed, they ſhould ſet out at Night for their own Country; and ſhould take their way through *Catiline*'s Camp, to get his Ratification. *Lentulus* gave them Letters for *Catiline*, which contain'd the Plan of the Conſpiracy, and the Meaſures they had taken with his Accomplices to deſtroy the Conſul, and the beſt Part of the Senators. And one of the Conſpirators, called *Volturcius*, of the City of *Crotona*, undertook to convoy thoſe Deputies to *Catiline*, and acquaint him what Method was agreed on to make their Nation riſe up in Arms.

The Allobroges arreſted. *Cicero* being informed by the *Allobroges*, that they were to ſet out the very Night following, ſent ſecretly two Prætors with a ſufficient Number of Guards, who poſted themſelves upon the *Milvian* Bridge, where they muſt needs paſs. The *Allobroges* arrived accordingly, and were arreſted with all that were with them. They ſurrender'd to the Prætors without making any Reſiſtance, like People ſurprized and frighten'd.

Voltur-

Volturcius was taken with them, together with a Box, wherein were all the Letters of the Conſpirators.

The Conſul having now in his Power the Proofs of the Conſpiracy, ſummon'd the Senate very early in the Morning to the Temple of *Concord*; and ſent to arreſt *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius* and *Ceparius*, who were brought under a Guard before the Aſſembly. At the ſame time the Deputies of the *Allobroges* were brought in, together with *Volturcius*, who, upon Promiſe of his Pardon, unfolded the whole Myſtery of the Conſpiracy. Their Letters were read publickly; and *Lentulus*, being convicted by his own Hand-writing, was obliged upon the Spot to diveſt himſelf of the Prætorſhip. He quitted his Purple-Robe; another was given him more ſuitable to his preſent miſerable Condition; and he with his Accomplices were ſeverally carried to ſeparate Houſes, which ſerved them for Priſons. *Cethegus* found Means to convey a Note to ſome of his Friends and Freedmen, by which he encouraged them to get the whole Party up, and to try the utmoſt in the Night to ſet him at Liberty. *Cicero* fearing ſome dangerous Tumult in their Behalf, ſummoned the Senate together again in the Evening, to come to an ultimate Reſolution concerning the Priſoners.

The Conſpiracy being ſufficiently prov'd, the Chief of thoſe concern'd in it are ſecured. App. de Bell. Civ. l. 2. c. 1. Sal. in Catil.

Plut. in Cicer.

The Senate conſult about puniſhing the Conſpirators.

Syllanus, Conſul Elect for the Year enſuing, and who, according to Cuſtom, was aſked his Advice firſt, declared, That every one of them deſerved to die. All that voted after him were of the ſame Opinion, except *Julius Cæſar*, who made a long Speech in Praiſe of Clemency, and concluded, ſaying, That in an Affair which concern'd the Lives of Citizens, and the principal *Patricians* in *Rome*, it was adviſeable not to be too haſty in giving Judgment; but that they ſhould be well-

Syllanus's *Opinion.*

guard-

guarded, and kept in ſome Towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* had been vanquiſhed. As he was an excellent Orator, he brought moſt of the Senators to concur with him in his Opinion. Even *Syllanus*, who had voted firſt for putting them to Death without Delay, retracted, and ſaid, "That when "he gave it as his Opinion, that they ought to be "condemned to the higheſt Puniſhment, it ought "to be underſtood only of Impriſonment, which "was, ſaid he, the greateſt Puniſhment that could "be inflicted on a *Roman* Citizen.

But *Cato*, when it came to his turn to vote, did in ſuch lively Colours repreſent the Horror of the Conſpirators Deſigns; he ſhowed with ſo many unanſwerable Arguments, that their Lives were incompatible with the Safety of the State; and that, to ſave a ſmall Number of Profligates, they were in a manner plunging a Dagger into the Boſom of every honeſt Man, that the whole Senate returned to their former Opinion. The Sentence of their Death was pronounced; and *Cicero*, upon the Decree of the Senate only, and without carrying it before the Aſſembly of the People according to Cuſtom, had them executed that Moment in the ſeveral Priſons where they had been confined. It is ſaid, that after this Execution he met in the *Forum* a great Number of their Kindred and Accomplices, who yet knew nothing of their Fate, and who were only waiting for the Night to reſcue them; and that turning himſelf towards them, he cried out to them, (*Vixerunt*) *They have lived*; a ſoften'd way which the *Romans* were wont to expreſs themſelves in, to avoid the Harſhneſs of the Phraſe, (*Mortui ſunt*) *They are dead*; and that this only Word, like a Thunderbolt, did in an Inſtant diſſipate that Multitude of Conſpirators, and broke all their Deſigns.

Cicero cauſes the Conſpirators to be executed in the ſeveral Priſons.

It

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Joy which the People ſhew'd, when they ſaw ſo dangerous a Plot diſcover'd, and the Conſpirators puniſh'd. Nothing was heard but curſing of *Catiline*, and praiſing of *Cicero*: Moſt waited on him to his own Houſe. Even the Women, to expreſs their Gratitude, put out Lights at their Windows, as to light him. This Night was more glorious to him, than a Day of Triumph ever was to the moſt victorious General. People ſcrupl'd not to ſay, That great Generals had indeed acquired whole Provinces for the Commonwealth; but that *Cicero*, without Troops, without Battles, without Bloodſhed, had ſaved it from Ruin. He was called the ſecond Founder of *Rome*, and the Father of his Country. All the ſeveral Orders of the State devoted themſelves to him; and his Authority was ſo much the more ſolid, as he owed it to his own Virtue only, and the Eſteem as well as Gratitude of his Fellow-Citizens. Cicero's *Triumph.*

Cæſar, though very conſiderable in the State by his Birth, his Eloquence, and his own Intereſt and that of his Friends, was treated in a quite different Manner. He had before been ſuſpected of having dark Deſigns; and *Cicero* had been heard to ſay more than once, That he obſerved ſomething in his whole Conduct, that diſcovered a Spirit ſecretly aiming at the Tyranny. What he had done to ſave the Lives of the Plotters, increaſed thoſe Suſpicions. When he came out of the Senate, where he had ſpoke with ſo much Warmth to ſave them from being put to Death, the Knights, who were upon Duty, held the Points of their Swords with a threatning Countenance towards him. They would have kill'd him; but *Cicero*, whoſe Looks they watch'd as to receive their Orders from him, made them a Sign to let him eſcape. Cæſar *ſuſpected.* Ap. Alex. l. 2. c. Plut. in Cæſare.

Not

Not but that it was then reported, that he had been charged home by ſome of the Conſpirators with being engaged in the Plot himſelf; but *Cicero*, who was very ſenſible how great his Intereſt was already in *Rome*, purpoſely avoided impeaching him with the reſt, leſt, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends and Relations, eſcaping himſelf the Rigor of the Laws, he might at the ſame time ſave the reſt of the Criminals. Every Body was however convinced, that he had been privy to all their evil Deſigns; and he was from that time look'd upon as a Man capable of undertaking any Thing to make himſelf Great.

The News of the Execution of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* was no ſooner brought to *Catiline*'s Camp, but ſeveral of the Plotters, ſeeing the Party of the Commonwealth prevailed, got off privately. There was even a great Number of Soldiers, whom the Deſire of Novelty and the Hope of Plunder had engaged in *Catiline*'s Party, that deſerted him. But the Head of the Party abated nothing of his firſt Deſigns. He reſolved either to periſh himſelf, or to deſtroy the Commonwealth. He made new Levies; he compleated his Cohorts with them, and in a ſhort time filled up his Legions; They were all mad with Fury, and thirſting after the Blood of their own Countrymen.

Catiline perſiſts.

The firſt Deſign of *Catiline*, as we ſaid above, was to advance with his Army to the very Gates of *Rome*, at the ſame time that the Conſpirators ſhould begin to act their Part within, by ſetting Fire to different Quarters of the Town at once. But the Conſul having broke all theſe Meaſures by his Vigilance, and by putting to Death the Chiefs of the Plot, the Heads of the Conſpiracy reſolved to paſs over into *Gaul*, and to cauſe all the Provinces that acknowledg'd the *Roman* Empire to revolt. *Q. Metellus Celer*, having penetrated

trated into his Deſign, cut off his Way thither by encamping juſt where he muſt needs paſs, at the ſame time that the Conſul *Antonius* follow'd him cloſe with his Army.

CATILINE ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with Enemies, and having no Place in *Italy* to retreat to, nor any Help to hope from *Rome*, was obliged to hazard a Battle, though with Forces inferior to thoſe of *Antony*. That Conſul, being at that time laid up with the Gout, left the Conduct of his Army to *Petreius*, an old Officer, who had been in the Service above thirty Years, and who from a private Centinel had rais'd himſelf by his Merit to the Degree of a General. But this ſudden Illneſs of the Conſul, who was rather a weak than a wicked Man, made it ſuſpected that he was tender of *Catiline*, with whom he had had Engagements formerly; and he was even accus'd of it afterwards before the Magiſtrates. It was ſaid, that this Fit of the Gout, which came upon him juſt on the Eve before he was to fight the Enemy of the Commonwealth, was but a Pretence, and a feign'd Illneſs, either to retard the Ruin of *Catiline*, or at leaſt to have no Hand in it himſelf. But the Rebels reap'd no manner of Advantage from this affected Delay. *Petreius*, from a Lieutenant-General now riſen to be General, preſs'd ſo hard upon them, that he forc'd them to come to a Battle. The Fight was fierce and obſtinate. If the Legions of the Commonwealth fought with great Valour, thoſe of *Catiline* behav'd themſelves with no leſs Obſtinacy: All were reſolv'd to vanquiſh, or to die. Not a Man gave Way: There was none that would either give or accept of Quarter. The living Soldier immediately ſtepp'd into the Place of his Companion that fell before him: It was not till after a great Slaughter, and a long Reſiſtance,

The Conſul Antony ſuſpected.

Fight between Petreius and Catiline.

ſtance, that the Army of the State at laſt defeated that of the Rebels: Every Man of them was cut to Pieces: *Catiline*, who was reſolved not to ſurvive the Ruin of his Party, threw himſelf with the other Captains, into the thickeſt of the Fight; and after the Battle, that famous Chief was found, with ſome little Remains of Life in him, upon a Heap of dead Bodies. Thro' the Agonies of Death were yet ſeen in his Face the Marks of that Audaciouſneſs and Fierceneſs natural to him during his Life.

The End of the Twelfth Book.

BOOK XIII.

Cæſar *unites with* Pompey *and* Craſſus, *and is choſen Conſul.* Cicero *baniſh'd. He is recall'd. The Government of* Gaul *and* Illyrium *is conferred on* Cæſar, *who employs the Wealth of thoſe Provinces to ſecure the Soldiery to him, and make himſelf Creatures in* Rome. *The Power which his Victories and his Money gain him makes* Pompey *uneaſy, who openly breaks with him.* Rome *and all the Provinces divide between thoſe two great Men, who decide their Quarrel in the Plains of* Pharſalia. Cæſar, *become Maſter of the whole Empire, is aſſaſſinated as a Tyrant, notwithſtanding his Clemency.*

WE have juſt now ſeen what Succeſs a Conſpiracy had, which the Indiſcretion of the Conſpirators betray'd, and the wiſe Conduct of *Cicero* entirely defeated. Debauchery, Luxury, and Poverty, the natural Conſequence of the former, had given it Birth: the uncommon Ambition of ſome private Men ſtrengthned it at a time when *Rome* had ſcarce any Thing left of a Republican Government, beſides the bare Name. The Great Ones alone reign'd with an abſolute Authority. The whole Adminiſtration was confin'd in a few Families, who handed the Conſular Dignity about to one another. A ſmall Number of Citizens did, by turns, diſpoſe of the Command of the Armies, as alſo the Government and Revenues of the Provinces. They being Arbiters of Peace and

State of the Republick.

and War, and accuſtom'd to the Homages and Honours that go along with ſovereign Power, it happen'd very ſeldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great Places, could eaſily reſolve to return to that Level which a private Life reduc'd them to with their Fellow-Citizens. Some gain'd the Affections of their Soldiers, either by allowing them a Remiſsneſs in the Military Diſcipline, or by ſelf-intereſted Liberalities. Others bought with large Sums the Votes of the People, to raiſe themſelves to the chief Poſts, or to ſubſtitute their own Creatures in their room. Thoſe that were out-brib'd, and loſt the Day, eaſed their Envy, by endeavouring to render the Power of their Rivals ſuſpected; and caſt about to promote their Ruin at the Expence of the publick Peace. The honeſt Men, as *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and many others, all zealous Commonwealths-men, look'd on that exceſſive Power of ſome Citizens, their immenſe Riches, and the common Affection of the Armies for their Generals, as ſo many Steps towards Slavery. They could not bear that thoſe great Men, under Pretence of ſerving their Country, ſhould make themſelves perpetual in Offices, whoſe ſupreme Authority was liable to tempt them to make themſelves independent. It was from theſe oppoſite Views and different Intereſts, that the laſt Commotions of the Commonwealth aroſe, wherein the whole World in a manner took part, ſome ſiding with *Pompey*, ſome with *Cæſar*, the two Chiefs of two great Parties, and both equally ſuſpected and fear'd on account of their Ambition and Valour. *Pompey* drew in a manner the Eyes of the whole World upon him. He was, as we have ſaid above, a General before he was a Soldier, and his whole Life was no leſs than a continual Train of Victories. He had made War in the Three (then known) Parts of the World, and always return'd home loaded with Laurels. He had in *Italy* van-

Pompey's great Actions.

quiſh'd

quiſh'd *Carinas* and *Carbo*, of *Marius*'s Party; *Domitius* in *Africa*; *Sertorius*, or rather *Perpenna*, in *Spain*; the Pyrates of *Cilicia*, in the *Mediterranean*; and ſince *Catiline*'s Defeat, he was return'd home, after having ſubdued *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. By ſo many Victories and Conqueſts, he was become greater than the *Romans* wiſh'd him, and than he could himſelf have expected. In that high Degree of Glory to which Fortune had all along in a manner handed him; he thought it became his Dignity to forbear being too familiar with his Fellow-Citizens. He ſeldom appear'd abroad; and if he came out of his Houſe, he was always follow'd by a Crowd of his Dependants, whoſe numerous Appearance look'd more like the Court of a great Prince, than the Attendance of a Citizen of a Republick. Not that he made an ill Uſe of his Power; but Men of a free City could ſcarce bear he ſhould thus affect the Manners and Ways of a Sovereign. Being accuſtom'd from his Youth to the Command of Armies, he could not reduce himſelf again to the Simplicity of a private Life. His Morals indeed were pure and untainted; he was even juſtly celebrated for his Temperance; no Body ever ſuſpected him of Covetouſneſs; and in the Purſuit of Dignities, he was leſs fond of the Power that is inſeparable from them, than of the Honours and Splendor that ſurrounds them. But, more affected by Show than Ambition, he continually ſtrove for Honours, that might raiſe him above all the Commanders of his Time. Moderate on every other Account, he could not bear any Body ſhould pretend to an equal Share of Glory: He was offended at any Equality therein, and ſeem'd as if he coveted to be the only General of the Commonwealth, when he ſhould have contented himſelf with being the firſt. This Jealouſy of Command created him a great many Enemies, of whom *Cæſar* was afterwards the moſt dangerous,

His Grandeur, Ambition, &c.

and formidable. The one, as we have ſeen, could bear no Equal; the other no Superior. This ambitious Competition in two of the greateſt Men of the Univerſe, caus'd new Revolutions; of which it will be proper to unravel the firſt Beginnings, and the Succeſs.

Cæſar's *Character.* *Caius Julius* CÆSAR was born of the illuſtrious Family of the *Julij*; which, like all other great Families, had its Chimæra of bragging that it deriv'd its Origin from *Anchiſes* and *Venus*. He was the beſt-ſhap'd Man of his Time, dextrous at all manner of Exerciſes; indefatigable, full of Valour, and of an exalted Courage, forming vaſt Deſigns; magnificent in his Expences, and liberal even to Prodigality. Nature, which ſeem'd to have fram'd him to command all the reſt of Mankind, had given him an Air of Empire, and a Dignity of Behaviour inexpreſſible. But that Air of Grandeur was allay'd by the Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs of his Manners. His inſinuating and invincible Eloquence was yet more owing to the Charms of his Perſon, than to the Strength of his Arguments. Thoſe that were hard enough to reſiſt the ſtrong Impreſſion which ſo many fine Qualities made, could not withſtand his good Offices: And he began with conquering Men's Hearts, as the ſureſt Foundation of the Empire he aſpir'd to.

His Aims. Born a ſimple Citizen of a Commonwealth, he form'd in a private Life the Project of becoming the Maſter and Sovereign of his Country. The Greatneſs, nor the Dangers of ſuch an Undertaking, did not deter him. He found nothing ſuperior to his Ambition, but the immenſe Extent of his Deſigns. The late Inſtances of *Marius* and *Sylla* made him ſenſible, that it was no impoſſible Thing to raiſe one's ſelf to the ſupreme Power. But, wiſe and diſcreet even in his immoderate Deſires, he ſhar'd out to different Seaſons the Execution of his Projects. His Conceptions, al-

ways juſt, notwithſtanding their Extenſiveneſs, carry'd him only by Degrees towards his Plan of Sovereignty; and however conſpicuous his Victories will hereafter appear, we ought to call them great Actions, only on this Account, that they were always the Conſequences and the Effect of great Deſigns.

Scarce was *Sylla* dead, but he put in for publick Employments: He brought with him all his Ambition. His Birth, one of the moſt conſpicuous in the Commonwealth, ought to have devoted him to the Senate, and the Patrician Party: But being a Nephew of *Marius*, and *Cinna*'s Son-in-Law, he declared for their Party, tho' it was almoſt ruin'd ſince *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip. He undertook to revive that Party, which was that of the Plebeians, and he flatter'd himſelf ſoon to be the Head of it; whereas in the other Party, he muſt have ſubmitted to *Pompey*'s Authority, who was at the Head of the Senate. *Sylla*, as we obſerv'd before, had, during his Dictatorſhip, caus'd *Marius*'s Trophies to be taken down. *Cæſar* was but an *Edile*, when he caus'd the Statue of *Marius*, crown'd by the Hands of Victory, ſecretly to be made by ſome of the beſt Artiſts. He added ſome Inſcriptions to his Honour, relating to his Victory over the *Cimbri*; and he caus'd theſe new Trophies to be placed in the Capitol in the Night. All the People ran the next Morning to ſee this Sight. *Sylla*'s Adherents greatly cenſur'd ſo bold an Undertaking. No Body doubted but it was *Cæſar*'s doing. His Enemies gave out, that he aim'd at the Tyranny, and that ſuch a Man ought to be puniſh'd, who durſt of his private Authority raiſe Trophies again, which a Sovereign Magiſtrate had caus'd to be taken down: But the People, of whom *Marius* had declar'd himſelf the Protector, extoll'd CÆSAR to the Skies. Hereupon the Senate met: CÆSAR was publickly impeach'd:

Plut. in Cæſar. Cæſar *erects a Statue to* Marius. *Year of* Rome, 690.

Catulus Luctatius, one of the Chiefs, cry'd aloud, That it was no longer by private Contrivances and Plots that Men now attempted the Sovereign Power, but that CÆSAR was invading the Publick Liberty, barefac'd. CÆSAR, on his Part, undertook to juſtify his Conduct; and pleaded his Cauſe with ſo much Strength of Eloquence, that notwithſtanding the Cabal of his Enemies, he was abſolv'd; and, by ſo bold an Action, made the People ſenſible of his own Power, and the Weakneſs of the Senate. The Exil'd, under the Countenance of his Authority, return'd to *Rome*; and he procur'd their being recall'd, under Pretence, that they had been condemn'd by a Citizen who had ſeiz'd on the Dictatorſhip and Sovereign Power with an arm'd Force.

Cæſar *accus'd and abſolv'd.*

Cauſes the Exiled to be re-call'd.

Belov'd by the People.

The People, charm'd with the Zeal he expreſs'd for their Party, founded nothing but his Praiſes: They ſpoke it aloud in *Rome*, that he was the only Man, who by his Courage and Undauntedneſs deſerv'd to ſucceed *Marius* in his high Poſts. The moſt conſiderable of all the Tribes, and the Heads of all the Factions, aſſur'd him, that there was nothing ſo high in the Commonwealth, but what he might pretend to; and that he might depend on all the Votes of the People: And it was not long before they gave him Proofs of their Zeal, and of their being devoted entirely to his Intereſt.

Cæſar, Pontifex maximus.

The High-Prieſt *Metellus* being dead, *Catulus Luctatius*, who had been Conſul, and was reſpected by all the *Romans* for his Virtue, demanded to be admitted to that Dignity. CÆSAR, though of an inferior Rank, and who had not yet been honour'd with the Conſulate, put up for it nevertheleſs among the reſt of the Candidates. *Luctatius*, who look'd upon him as a formidable Competitor, becauſe of his Intereſt with the People, ſent to offer him a large Sum, if he would

would drop his Pretenſions. But CÆSAR had too great a Soul to be dazzled with ſordid Lucre. He ſent to *Luctatius*, to tell him, that, far from accepting of his Money, he would rather borrow of all his Friends to maintain his Pretenſions. But he had no Occaſion to do ſo, the People were too much in his Intereſt; and upon ſumming up the Votes, he carry'd it from *Luctatius* and all his Competitors. Plut. in Cæſar.

He was rais'd to the Prætorſhip with the ſame Eaſe; and when his Time in that Office was expir'd, the People conferr'd on him the Government of *Spain*. It is ſaid, that paſſing over the *Alps* thither, he went through a ſmall Town, with but very few Inhabitants in it, and thoſe extremely poor and miſerable; and that thoſe who attended him, aſking each other in a joking way, Whether there were any Parties in that Country-Town, and any Canvaſſing There for the Magiſtracy? CÆSAR joining in their Converſation, told them, *That he would rather chuſe to be the Firſt Man in that poor Village, than the Second in* Rome. *Year of* Rome, 691. *Is made Governor of* Spain.

All CÆSAR's Care, during his being in that Government, was to extend its Limits. He carried the War into *Galicia* and *Luſitania*, which he ſubjected to the *Roman* Empire; but in a Conqueſt of that Uſe to the State, he did not neglect his private Advantage. He engroſs'd all the Silver and Gold of thoſe Provinces by violent Contributions, and therewith return'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with new Applauſes by the People.

The Riches he brought along with him, was very conſiderable: He employ'd it to make himſelf new Creatures, whom he attach'd to his Fortune by his repeated Liberalities and Preſents. He, as it were, abandon'd all he had to them; his Houſe was open for them at all Times; nothing was hid from them but his Heart, which even his deareſt Friends could never found. He was ca- Cæſar *courts the People's Favour with vaſt Largeſſes.*

pable of undertaking and of concealing every Thing; always watchful, always preſent at all the Cabals from which he could draw any Advantage; but without ever diſcovering his Mind. It was not doubted but he would have put himſelf at the Head of *Catiline*'s Plot, if it had ſucceeded; and that famous Rebel, who fancy'd he was promoting his own Greatneſs only, would have ſeen the Fruits of his Guilt ſnatch'd from him by a Man of a ſuperior Intereſt in his own Party, and who had Cunning enough to let him go through all the Dangers of the Execution of that Enterprize. Yet the ill Succeſs of that Undertaking, and the Remembrance of the Death of the two *Gracchi*, aſſaſſinated in Sight of the Multitude, who ador'd them, made him ſenſible, that the ſole Favour of the People was not ſufficient to carry his Deſigns to Perfection; and he rightly judg'd, that he could never arrive to the Supreme Power without the Command of Armies, and having a great Number of Friends, and even a Party in the Senate.

Cæſar's Contrivances to get himſelf choſen Conſul.

That Auguſt Aſſembly was then divided betwixt POMPEY and *Craſſus*, Enemies and Rivals in the Government, the one the mightieſt, and the other the richeſt in *Rome*. The Commonwealth drew at leaſt this Advantage from their Diſunion, that by dividing the Senate, it kept Their Power in a Balance, and maintained its Liberty. CÆSAR reſolv'd to unite himſelf ſometimes with one, ſometimes with the other, and as it were to borrow their Power from Time to Time, with a Deſign to make uſe of it for arriving the eaſier to the Dignity of Conſul, and the Command of Armies. But as he could not be Friends at the ſame Time with two open Enemies, he at firſt only meditated how he ſhould reconcile them. He ſucceeded in it, and he alone profited by a Reconciliation ſo detrimental to the Publick Liberty. He artfully perſuaded POMPEY and *Craſſus*,

to

to truſt him with the Conſulate, as a Pledge which they both warmly pretended to, and which neither could have ſeen the other enjoy without Jealouſy. He was elected Conſul, together with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, by the Agreement of the two united Parties. He ſecretly gain'd the moſt conſiderable, of which he form'd a third Party, which in the End overthrew thoſe very Men, who had the moſt contributed to his Advancement. *Year of Rome,* 694.

Rome ſaw it ſelf then become a Prey to the Ambition of three Men, who by the Credit of their united Parties arbitrarily diſpoſed of all the Dignities and Employments in the Commonwealth. *Craſſus*, always covetous, and too rich for a private Perſon, was leſs intent upon ſtrengthning his Party than upon heaping up more Riches. POMPEY, ſatisfied with the outward Marks of Reſpect and Veneration that the Splendor of his Victories gave him, enjoy'd his Credit and Reputation in a dangerous Sloth. But CÆSAR, of better Parts and more reſerv'd than Either, was ſilently laying the Foundation of his own Grandeur on the too great Security of Both. He forgot no Means to preſerve their Confidence, whilſt, with repeated Preſents, he endeavour'd to gain thoſe Senators that were the moſt devoted to them. The Friends of POMPEY and *Craſſus* became unwarily CÆSAR's Creatures: And that he might know all that was tranſacted within their private Dwellings, he bribed even their Freedmen; who could refuſe nothing to his liberal Temper. *Cæſar's Policy.*

But as theſe new Engagements with POMPEY and *Craſſus*, the Heads of the Senate, might render him ſuſpected to the People; he was no ſooner elected Conſul, but he declared himſelf anew for a Party which he always thought the moſt ſolid Foundation of his future Greatneſs. The dextrous Manner in which he at one and the ſame Time created a Difference between POMPEY and the

Senate, and between the Senate and the People, was the Maſterpiece of his Politicks and Ability. He undertook to revive the *Lex Agraria*. He foreſaw, that the Conſent of POMPEY and *Craſſus*, which he had before-hand made ſure of, and the Oppoſition of *Cato*, *Cicero*, and all zealous Commonwealths-men, would create reciprocal Enmities amongſt them; and that the People, always blind to their true Intereſt, would declare againſt thoſe Senators, without being aware that they oppoſed CÆSAR with no other View than to preſerve the publick Liberty. It was as Conſul that he ſoon propoſed the paſſing of a Law in the Senate, by which all the Lands of *Campania* ſhould be diſtributed to twenty thouſand ſuch Citizens as had at leaſt three Children. They were Lands, whoſe Revenue, becauſe of their Fertility, had been always reſerved for the moſt preſſing Occaſions of the State. The honeſteſt Part of the Senate oppoſed this Law with all their Might. CÆSAR, who had foreſeen this Oppoſition, immediately cry'd out, That he took the Gods to Witneſs, they forced him to have recourſe to the Authority of the People. He accordingly ſummoned their Aſſembly, and appeared there accompany'd with POMPEY and *Craſſus*. He directed his Speech to POMPEY; and aſked him, Whether he did not approve of a Law ſo equitable in a Commonwealth, whoſe Members ought all to ſhare the publick Eſtates? In vain did the Senators about POMPEY endeavour to make him ſuſpect CÆSAR's Intentions; POMPEY, without ſo much as hearing their Reaſons, declared himſelf of his Opinion: Whether he thought himſelf obliged in Honour to ſupport his firſt Engagements, or that, preſuming too much on his own Power compar'd to CÆSAR's Credit, he deſpiſed the Suſpicions of thoſe Senators. He even anſwer'd CÆSAR with more Warmth than Prudence, *That if any Body offered to oppoſe this Law with the Sword, he*

Cæſar propoſes the Agrarian Law.

Plut. in Cæſare.

he would take up Sword and Buckler to make it paſs. Which was the ſame Thing, as declaring War againſt his own Party.

POMPEY, by this Anſwer, ſo unſuitable to his own true Intereſt, made himſelf odious to the Senate, and ſuſpicious to his own Friends: nor did ſo imprudent a Step gain him an Inch of the People's Favour, who thought themſelves beholden to no body but CÆSAR for propoſing of this Law. This Conſul, ſupported by his own Party, by that of POMPEY and of *Craſſus*, made it paſs, as it were, Sword in Hand, and in ſpite of the Remonſtrances and Oppoſition of the moſt zealous Republicans. Twenty Commiſſioners were choſen, who ſhar'd the Lands of *Campania* among twenty Thouſand *Roman* Families. Theſe proved hereafter as many Clients, whoſe proper Intereſt engaged them to uphold what had been done under his Conſulate. To prevent what his Succeſſors might undertake againſt the Diſpoſition of this Law, he got a Second paſs'd, which bound the whole Senate, and all thoſe that ſhould be rais'd to any Magiſtracy, to take an Oath, That they ſhould never propoſe any Thing, that would derogate from what had been decreed in the Aſſembly of the People during his Conſulate. It was by ſo wiſe a Precaution that he render'd the Foundation of his Fortune ſo firm and durable, that ten Years Abſence, and all the ill Offices of his Enemies and thoſe that envy'd him, could never ſhake it.

Cæſar's Agrarian Law paſs'd and executed.

But as he always fear'd that POMPEY would give him the ſlip, and be gain'd over again to the Party of the zealous Republicans, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, as a new Pledge of their Union. POMPEY gave his to *Servilius*, and CÆSAR married *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Piſo*, whom he got nominated Conſul for the Year enſuing. He at the ſame time took for himſelf the Government of *Gaul* and *Illyricum* for five Years.

Alliance between Pompey *and* Cæſar.

Year of Rome, 694.

Cæſar *Governour of* Gaul.

Years. That of *Syria* was allotted to *Craſſus* at his Deſire, not doubting but he ſhould get new Treaſures there; and POMPEY obtained that of both *Spains*, which he always governed by his Lieutenants, that he might not be obliged to quit the Luxuries and Pleaſures of *Rome*. They tack'd this Diviſion of the Governments to the Law for the Partition of the Lands, thereby to intereſt the Proprietors in maintaining Their private Authority.

Thus did theſe Three Men ſhare the World among them, as their own Patrimony. In vain did *Cato* remonſtrate in all the Aſſemblies, That it was a Shame the Empire ſhould thus be proſtituted, and the Grandees of *Rome* in a manner barter away their Daughters, and give them in lieu of a Dowry the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the higheſt Dignities of the Commonwealth.

Cæſar puts Cato under Arreſt; and his own Colleague is driven out of the Forum.

CÆSAR, who was gentle and humane to the common People, but proud towards the Great who offer'd to reſiſt him, put *Cato* under Arreſt, pretending that he oppoſed the paſſing of a Law receiv'd and approv'd by the unanimous Conſent of the People. *Bibulus*, CÆSAR's Collegue in the Conſulſhip, was driven out of the *Forum* by the People, provok'd and enrag'd at the Oppoſition he made. His *Faſces* were broke, and his *Lictors* wounded. Himſelf narrowly eſcap'd being kill'd, and was forc'd, for ſaving of his Life, to lie conceal'd in his own Houſe ſome Time, without daring to appear abroad. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* met with but little better Treatment. The Vanquiſher of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, threaten'd by *Cæſar* that he ſhou'd be call'd to account for the immenſe Treaſures he had brought with him from the *Eaſt*, was forc'd, in order to pacify him, to fall at his Feet in a full Aſſembly, and to retire from publick Buſineſs. This laſt was CÆSAR's ſecret View, who to remove *Cicero* likewiſe from the Adminiſtration,

Lucullus humbled.

whoſe

whoſe Ability and penetrating Genius he ſtood in fear of, was not aſhamed to unite himſelf with *Publ. Clodius*, *Cicero*'s declared Enemy, in order to ruin that great Man, and even to raiſe by his Intereſt *Clodius* to the Dignity of Tribune of the People, though *Clodius* had a little before been accuſed of living in Adultery with *Pompeia*, CÆSAR's Wife. It was this very Accuſation, and the Share *Cicero* had in it, which gave Birth to that violent Hatred of *Clodius* againſt him, though they had before lived in a very ſtrict Friendſhip. *Publius Clodius* was a very handſome young Man, Rich, Eloquent, and lov'd by the People, whoſe Intereſts he ſupported; but Preſumptuous, Proud, and Inſolent on Account of his high Birth, and of the Sway he had in *Rome*. He fell violently in Love with *Pompeia*, CÆSAR's Wife, and found the Way to win her. Nothing was wanting to their mutual Deſires but an Opportunity, which the Watchfulneſs and Severity of *Aurelia*, CÆSAR's Mother, render'd almoſt impoſſible. *Clodius*, carry'd away by his Paſſion, fancy'd he might introduce himſelf into her Houſe by Favour of a particular Feaſt to be held that Night in Honour of the Mother of *Bacchus*. Men were excluded out of thoſe Nocturnal Ceremonies. The very Maſter of the Houſe, wherein they were celebrated, was oblig'd to quit his Houſe, and none but Women or Maids were admitted to thoſe Myſteries, over which they could not caſt too thick a Veil. It was commonly the Wife of a Conſul, or a Prætor, who officiated as Prieſteſs of that Goddeſs, whom it was unlawful to name, but who was reverenced under the Title of *Bona Dea*, *the Good Goddeſs*.

Cæſar *againſt* Cicero.

Clodius, *Paramour to* Pompeia.

Clodius diſguized himſelf in Women's Apparel, and in the Night was introduced into the Houſe of *Aurelia* by a Servant of *Pompeia*, who, in Concert with her Miſtreſs, managed that Intrigue. The Rendezvouz was in the Chamber of that very

Clodius *ſurpriz'd by* Cæſar.

very Servant, who had hid *Clodius* there, while ſhe went to acquaint POMPEIA with the Arrival of her Lover. But as ſhe tarried too long, whether he was impatient, or perhaps deſirous to know what were the Myſteries of the Feaſt among thoſe Women, he came out of his lurking Hole. As ill Luck would have it, he loſt his Way, and chanc'd to meet another Servant-Maid of the Family, who taking him for a Maid, propoſed, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, to play with her. *Clodius* try'd to ſhun it; but the Servant, who in this Bacchanal-Feaſt was ſeized with a kind of Fury, endeavour'd to pull him towards a Place where ſhe ſaw ſome Light, that ſhe might know who was the She that ſo unkindly denied her. *Clodius*, to ſave himſelf from her Hands, told her he was one of the Singing-women that had been hir'd for the Feaſt, and that he was looking for *Abra*, POMPEIA's Servant. The Sound of his Voice betray'd him, and diſcover'd his Sex. The Maid frighten'd, runs to *Aurelia*, and acquaints her, that ſhe has found a Man in the Houſe in Women's Cloaths. An End is immediately put to the Ceremonies; the Myſteries are very haſtily cover'd over: *Aurelia* orders the Doors to be lock'd; a Search is made, and the Criminal found. CÆSAR's Mother, after having upbraided him with his Inſolence and Impiety, made him go out; and the next Morning early, ſhe gave notice to the Senate of what had happen'd in the Night in her Houſe. The whole Town was ſcandaliz'd at it. The Women, above all, flew out into a violent Paſſion againſt *Clodius*; and a Tribune ſummoned him to appear before the People, and took upon him to proſecute this Affair. This Magiſtrate flattered himſelf that he ſhould be ſeconded by CÆSAR. He thought that a Huſband would not refuſe to join his Reſentment againſt a young inſolent Fellow convicted of an unlawful Amour with his own Wife. It is

Clodius *ſummon'd.*

certain, that in the ordinary Way of the World, CÆSAR could not avoid declaring himſelf againſt the Offender; but it was no leſs his Intereſt, in the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, not to fall out with *Clodius*, who had great Power among the People. To make himſelf eaſy in ſo difficult a Point without wounding his Honour or his Intereſt, be contented himſelf with putting away his Wife. The Tribune, after this Step, having ſummoned him in an Aſſembly of the People to declare, if he was not certain, that *Clodius* had prophaned the Myſteries of the *Bona Dea*; CÆSAR anſwer'd him coldly, That he knew nothing of the Matter. *Why then*, replied the Tribune, *have you parted with your Wife? Becauſe*, ſaid he, *Cæſar's Wife ſhould not be ſo much as ſuſpected.* With this cunning Anſwer he evaded proſecuting *Clodius*; and would at the ſame time inſinuate, that he was convinced his Wife had been more Imprudent in this Affair than Criminal.

Pompeia *repudiated.*

Clodius, having nothing now to fear from CÆSAR's Reſentment, among the ſeveral Things he pleaded in his Defence, maintain'd, that *Aurelia* had miſtaken him for another; and offered to prove, that the very Night of the Feaſt he was out of *Rome*, and at too great a Diſtance to be able to return that Night, whatever Speed he could have made. But *Cicero* roſe, and in full Aſſembly declar'd, that he came to his Houſe that Evening, and had diſcourſed him on ſeveral Heads. It is affirmed that *Cicero* witneſs'd this, leſs out of a Religious Concern, than out of Complaiſance for *Terentia* his Wife, who took this Opportunity of creating a Miſunderſtanding between him and *Clodius*, whoſe Siſter ſhe fear'd he would marry, after having ſet her aſide; it being reported that ſhe was not indifferent to him. But whatever might move him to this, his Evidence did not prevail over *Clodius*'s Credit, nor over the Money he gave to his Judges.

Cicero *depoſes againſt* Clodius.

The

The Criminal was acquitted, and he had no ſooner got clear of ſo dangerous an Affair, but he meditated which way he ſhould be revenged of *Cicero*.

Clodius, *Tribune of the People.*

The Office of Tribune of the People ſeem'd to him a Magiſtracy that would enable him to ſignalize his Hatred with Impunity: But he was a *Patrician* by Birth, and by the Laws that Office could not be poſſeſſed by any but *Plebeians*. To remove this Obſtacle, he got himſelf adopted into a *Plebeian* Family, by *M. Fonteius*. By means of this Adoption, and the Credit he had in *Rome*, he eaſily obtain'd a Place in the Tribunate.

Year of Rome, 695.

To render himſelf more popular ſtill, he began the Exerciſe of his Office by propoſing new Laws, all in favour of the *Plebeians*. He at the ſame time brought *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, the two Conſuls for that Year, over to his Intereſt by good Management. That they might not croſs him in his Project of Revenge againſt *Cicero*, he procur'd for them the Government of the two richeſt Provinces in the Commonwealth. After having thus taken theſe different Meaſures as well with regard to the People as to the Senate, he applied himſelf to the gaining of *Craſſus*, CÆSAR, and POMPEY, who by an Intereſt at that time ſuperior to all his Contrivances and Cabals, might have ſnatched his Victim from him. But he found thoſe Grandees, who might be called the Sovereigns of *Rome*, already diſpoſed to concur with him in his Reſentment. *Craſſus* had actually fallen out with *Cicero*; CÆSAR, ſince *Catiline*'s Affair, wiſhed him no better; and *Pompey*, then united with CÆSAR, and beſides always a weak Friend, was not capable of undertaking the Defence of a Man againſt whom CÆSAR preſerved a ſecret Spite.

Craſſus, Cæſar and Pompey *favour* Clodius.

Plut. in Cæſ. & Ciceron App. l. 2. de bell. civ. c. 4.

Cicero *accuſed, goes into Exile.*

Clodius, having taken thoſe Meaſures, impeach'd *Cicero* before the Aſſembly of the People, for having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the other Accomplices of *Catiline*, to Death, contrary to all Laws, and

and without ſo much as conſulting the People, who were the natural Judges of all Citizens in Criminal Matters. Though *Cicero* had done nothing but what the Senate agreed to, he eaſily perceiv'd, that without a powerful Protection he ſhould hardly eſcape *Clodius*'s Fury during the Year of his Tribunate. He firſt went to CÆSAR; and intreated that he might follow him into *Gaul* as one of his Lieutenants. CÆSAR, who deſir'd no better Thing than to have him out of the Senate and the Adminiſtration, readily conſented. *Clodius*, perceiving that that Employment, together with the Abſence of *Cicero*, would oblige him to ſtop his Proceedings againſt him, feign'd himſelf diſpos'd to a Reconciliation. He ſent him word by ſome common Friends, that he was not averſe to live again in Amity with him, and was conſcious, that his Wife *Terentia* had been the chief Occaſion of his giving that Evidence againſt him in the Affair of *Pompeia*.

Cicero, allur'd by thoſe vain Hopes of a ſpeedy Agreement, thank'd CÆSAR for his Employment, return'd to the Senate, and follow'd publick Buſineſs again. But CÆSAR, who had reſolv'd, whatever it coſt, to have him out, incens'd at this Change, united with *Clodius* in the Purſuit of his Ruin; and he made *Pompey* promiſe that he ſhould no ways intermeddle in this Affair in behalf of *Cicero*. *Clodius* hereupon reſum'd his Impeachment. *Cicero*, ſeeing himſelf in ſo much Danger, changed his Habit; and having let his Beard and his Hair grow, went about to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and the Protection of the Grandees of *Rome*, being attended with a great Number of Knights. The Senate, mov'd at the Wrong that was doing to ſo worthy a Man, whom they regarded as one of the principal Ornaments of their Body, were for going into Mourning as for a publick Calamity: But the Conſuls, brib'd by *Clodius*,

dius, oppoſed it; himſelf, attended with an inſolent Band of arm'd Slaves, kept the Senate as it were beſieg'd; ſo that they could not take any Reſolution to *Cicero*'s Advantage.

That great Man, proſecuted by a Mad-man and an implacable Enemy, had recourſe to *Pompey*, to whom he had done conſiderable Services in all Things relating to the Government, and who ow'd him moſt of the Employments which were conferr'd on him by the Votes of the People.

Pompey, no ways ignorant of *Clodius*'s Deſigns, was retir'd to his Country-Seat, that he might not be expos'd to the Reproaches of his not ſtirring in behalf of his Friend, if he had ſtay'd in *Rome*. *Cicero* at firſt ſent his Son-in-Law *Piſo* to him, who brought nothing back from him but ſuch equivocal and evaſive Anſwers, which the Great alone know ſo well how to make, to excuſe themſelves from granting what they cannot openly refuſe without diſgracing themſelves. *Cicero* flatter'd himſelf, that if he went in Perſon, he ſhould have better luck; he went himſelf therefore to his Houſe. *Pompey*, knowing himſelf incapable of bearing his Preſence, and yet reſolving not to break his Word with CÆSAR, went out at a back Door, and cauſed him to be told, that he was return'd to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting that he was abandon'd by him, did in a manner abandon himſelf; and that Man, ſo eloquent, ſo powerful by the Force of his Rhetorick, and the Strength of his Arguments, when he pleaded the Cauſe of other People, deſpair'd of ſaving himſelf, and wanted Words to juſtify an Action, that had been applauded by the whole Senate, and prais'd by the unanimous Voice of the People. He baniſh'd himſelf, quitted *Rome* in the Night, and retir'd into *Greece*. *Clodius*, having reduc'd him to that Extremity, got the Decree of his Baniſhment paſs'd. By the ſame Decree, that furious Tribune,

Plut. in Cicer.

Bone, who had drawn it up, obtain'd that his City and Country-Houſes ſhould be pull'd down to the Ground, and his Goods ſold by Auction by the ſame Miniſters of Juſtice; which he ſaw executed ſoon after, that he might leave Monuments of his Reſentment and Power.

Clodius, having forc'd *Cicero* to fly, thought himſelf ſole and abſolute Maſter of the Government. He even preſumed to attack *Pompey* himſelf, and propoſed in the Aſſembly of the People, to inſpect the Conduct of that great Commander, during the Wars in the *Eaſt*. But he ſoon perceiv'd that his Power was founded only as it were on a borrow'd Credit; and that of himſelf he could not have accompliſh'd *Cicero*'s Ruin, if ſome powerful Cabals, of which he fancy'd himſelf the Chief, tho' but the Inſtrument and Miniſter, had not concurr'd with him in that Affair. Clodius *attacks* Pompey.

Pompey, attack'd in ſo ſenſible a Part, forgot his ſecret Engagements with CÆSAR, and reſolv'd to procure *Cicero*'s Reſtoration, to oppoſe him to *Clodius*. This was the Occaſion of new Broils; they even came to Blows; but *Pompey*'s Party prov'd ſo ſtrong, that *Clodius* was forc'd to yield, and the Senate put an End to thoſe Diſputes by one bold Action: They ſuſpended all Courts of Juſtice, and made a Decree, which forbad the Magiſtrates taking Cognizance of any Affair whatever, till the Re-call of *Cicero* had firſt been decreed. That great Man return'd to his own Country, after ſixteen Months Baniſhment. The Cities through which he paſs'd paid him an uncommon Reſpect; and he ſays himſelf, *That he was brought back again to* Rome *as it were in the Arms of the Inhabitants of all* Italy. His whole Journey was one continual Triumph. When he came near *Rome*, the Grandees, the Knights, the People, all went out to meet him; and the Senate order'd by a Publick Decree, That his Houſes, which *Clodius* had caus'd

The Honours paid to Cicero *upon his being recall'd.* Plut. in Cicer. App. l. 2. c. 45.

Year of Rome, 696. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 45.

to be pull'd down, ſhould be rebuilt at the publick Charge.

CÆSAR, who unboſom'd himſelf but little in thoſe Cabals, ſaw *Cicero*'s Reſtoration, without offering to hinder it, and ſeem'd at that time entirely taken up with the Affairs of his Government.

Cæſar's *Authority increaſes.*

The Conſuls, at the Expiration of their Office, had uſually the Government of ſome of the Provinces conferr'd on them; and CÆSAR, as we have already obſerv'd, did, in concert with *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, procure for himſelf the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which was not far from *Rome*. *Vatinius*, a Tribune of the People, and CÆSAR's Creature, procur'd to be added to CÆSAR's laſt mention'd Government, that of *Illyricum*, together with *Gallia Tranſalpina*, that is to ſay, *Provence*, and Part of *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, which CÆSAR coveted extremely, that he might thence carry his Arms farther; and which the very Senate agreed to, becauſe they did not think their Intereſt ſtrong enough to refuſe him.

His Exploits in Gaul.

CÆSAR had choſen thoſe Provinces as a Field of Battle fit to acquire him a great Name. He look'd on the Conqueſt of all *Gaul* as on an Object worthy of his great Courage and Valour, and flatter'd himſelf at the ſame Time he ſhould there amaſs great Treaſures, ſtill more neceſſary to ſupport his Credit at *Rome*, than to bear the Expences of the War. He ſet out for the Conqueſt of *Gaul*, at the Head of four Legions, and *Pompey* lent him another afterwards, which he ſpared him from the Army that he had under his Command, as Governor of *Spain* and *Lybia*. CÆSAR's Wars, his Battles and Victories, are unknown to no Body. He triumph'd within the Space of ten Years over the *Helvetians*, whom he forc'd to ſhut themſelves up among their Mountains: He attack'd and defeated *Arioviſtus*, King of the *Almains*, whom he made War upon, tho' that Prince had been admitted among

the Allies of the *Roman* People. He afterwards made the *Belgæ* yield to his Laws; he conquer'd all *Gaul*; and the *Romans*, under his Conduct, cross'd the Sea, and for the first Time set up their Eagles in *Great-Britain*. It is said, that he either took by Force eight hundred Cities, or made them yield to the Terror of his Arms; that he subdued three hundred different Nations; that he defeated in several different Battles three Millions of Men, of which one Million were kill'd in the Field, and another Million made Prisoners; Circumstances which would seem to us exorbitant and magnify'd, if we had not for Vouchers *Plutarch*, and other Historians, both *Romans* and *Greeks* too who have written of *Roman* Affairs.

It is certain, that the Commonwealth had never seen a greater Captain, if we examine his Conduct in the Command of Armies, his uncommon Valour in Fight, and the moderate Use he made of his Victories. But these great Qualifications were tarnish'd by his immoderate Ambition, and an insatiable Desire of accumulating Riches, which he took to be the surest Instrument to bring his great Designs to a desired Issue. The Moment he arriv'd in *Gaul*, every Thing in his Camp was venal; Places, Governments, Wars, Alliances; he made a Trade of every Thing. He plunder'd the Temples of the Gods, and the Lands of the Allies: All that tended to the Increase of his Power, seem'd just and honourable to him; and *Cicero* relates, that he had frequently these Lines of *Euripides* in his Mouth: *If Right is to be violated, it is only for the sake of Empire; but in Matters of less Consequence, Men cannot be too observant of Justice.* The Senate, intent upon his Conduct, design'd to call him to an Account, and sent Commissioners as far as *Gaul*, to know the Causes of Complaint of their Allies. *Cato*, upon the Return of those Commissioners, propos'd to deliver him up to *Ariovistus*, not only to

His Ambition and Avarice.

ſhew that the Commonwealth diſapprov'd of his unjuſt Wars, but likewiſe by that means to bring down upon his ſingle Head the celeſtial Vengeance for Faith violated. But the Splendor of his Victories, the Affection of the People, and the Money he had diſtributed among the Senators, inſenſibly chang'd their Complaints into Praiſes. His Robberies were conſtrued for political Actions; the Gods were thank'd in a ſolemn manner for his Sacrileges; and great Vices became great Virtues, becauſe they prov'd ſucceſsful.

Cæſar idolized by the Soldiery.

• CÆSAR ow'd theſe Succeſſes to his uncommon Valour, and the paſſionate Love his Soldiers bore him. They ador'd him, they follow'd him in the greateſt Dangers with that entire Confidence which is extremely honourable to a General; and thoſe, who under other Commanders would have fought but feebly, ſhow'd under him an invincible Courage; and by his Example, became ſo many *Cæſars*. He had engag'd them to his Perſon and his Fortune by that unwearied Care he took of their Subſiſtence, and by magnificent Preſents. He doubled their Pay; and the Corn, that uſed to be meaſured out to them by *Rations* (or ſtinted Allowances) was given them without Meaſure. To the Veterans, he aſſign'd Lands and Poſſeſſions. It ſeem'd as if he was but the Steward of the vaſt Riches he was acquiring every Day; and that he ſav'd them with no other View, than to make them the Price of Valour, and the Reward of Merit. He even uſed to pay the Debts of his principal Officers, and gave to underſtand to ſuch as ſtood engaged for large Sums, that they ſhould never be in any Danger from their Creditors, as long as they follow'd his Colours. Soldiers and Officers, all of them grounded the Hopes of their Fortune on the Generoſity and Protection of their General; by which Means the Soldiers of the Commonwealth inſenſibly became the Soldiers of CÆSAR.

His Credit, Intereſt, and Wealth.

He was not only intent upon gaining the Army. From the remoteſt Parts of *Gaul*, he extended his Eyes

Eyes to the publick Adminiſtration at *Rome*, and was in a Manner preſent in all the *Comitia* and Aſſemblies of the People. Nothing was tranſacted there, without his Privity. His Credit and Money influenc'd moſt Deliberations of the Senate. He had in both thoſe Aſſemblies powerful Friends and Creatures entirely devoted to his Intereſt. He ſupply'd them with Money in Abundance, either to pay their Debts, or to raiſe themſelves to the chief Offices in the Commonwealth. It was with theſe Sums that he bought not only their Votes, but their very Liberty. *Emilius Paulus*, being Conſul, got of him upwards of nine hundred thouſand Crowns, for not oppoſing his Deſigns during his Conſulate. He gave ſtill more to *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, a Man of a violent and factious Spirit, but Artful and Eloquent, who had ſold him his Faith, but who to ſerve him more effectually, conceal'd his ſecret Obligations and Engagements, affecting in all he did, to act only for the Good of the People.

Year of Rome, 703.

Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1.

Velleius, l. 2. c. 48.

Pompey's Friends made him reflect ſeriouſly on the Conduct of CÆSAR, and repreſented to him the Danger which threatned the Commonwealth. *Pompey* ſurpriz'd, could not help bluſhing, when he perceiv'd that he had been over-reach'd by a Man, whoſe Abilities proved greater than his own; and that he had perhaps given himſelf a Maſter, whilſt he only intended to favour his Father-in-law and his Friend. He thereupon reſolved to undo what he conceived to be his own Work, and to ſubvert CÆSAR's Fortune. He flattered himſelf, that being Maſter of the Senate, nothing could withſtand him. CÆSAR, on his Part, grounded his Hopes on a victorious Army and the Affection of the People.

Pompey *takes Meaſures againſt* Cæſar.

The Jealouſy of the Command, and a mutual Emulation of Glory, made them ſoon perceive that they were Enemies, though ſtill preſerving all

the outward Appearances of their former Union. But *Craſſus*, who by his Credit and immenſe Riches balanc'd the Power of Both, being ſlain in the *Parthian* War, they found themſelves at Liberty to declare their Sentiments openly. And the Death of *Julia*, CÆSAR's Daughter, and *Pompey*'s Wife, which fell out ſoon afterwards, put an end to what little Friendſhip remain'd betwixt the Father and Son-in-Law.

State of Rome in the Beginning of the Troubles.

Rome was then in a prodigious Diſorder: Bribery and Venality of Places were no longer conceal'd. Thoſe that ſtood Candidates brought their Money openly to the Place of Election. It was without Shame diſtributed among the Heads of Factions; and thoſe who had received it, employ'd Force and Violence rather than the Number of Votes, to cauſe Them to be elected, who had thus paid them: So that ſcarce any Office was beſtow'd, but what had been diſputed Sword in Hand, and had coſt the Lives of many Citizens. Both Parties proving of equal Force, ſeparated often without coming to any Choice: And this Diſorder increas'd ſo much, that *Rome* was once eight Months without Magiſtrates. *Pompey* was ſuſpected to keep up that Confuſion in the Government, in order to center the whole Authority in himſelf. His Creatures, favouring his ambitious Deſigns, expreſs'd in their Speeches an Abhorrence of that untamed Licentiouſneſs that reign'd in all the Elections. Several, to ſound the Bottom of People's Hearts, ſaid, That a Monarchical State was preferable to a Commonwealth which was degenerated into a mere Anarchy: That they muſt at leaſt have recourſe to a Dictator; and that in a Choice, now become neceſſary, they ought to put themſelves under the Direction of the tendereſt Phyſician; by which they cunningly pointed out *Pompey*, without naming him. The Affair was puſh'd on with ſo much Warmth by his Adherents,

that

that the Senate ſeemed diſpos'd to confer upon him that high Office, which differed from Royalty only by being limited, and of a ſhorter Duration. But *Cato*, who was always watchful over the publick Liberty, having penetrated *Pompey*'s Deſigns, and fearing leſt with the great Power he had, he might make himſelf perpetual Dictator, inſinuated to the Senate, That it would be more proper to chuſe him ſole Conſul without a Collegue. He propoſed this, to preſerve yet ſome Image of a Commonwealth; becauſe a Conſul was bound, when called upon, to give an Account of his Conduct to the People and the Senate, which a Dictator was exempted from.

The Senate approved the Expedient propoſed by *Cato*: *Pompey* was elected ſole Conſul. They at the ſame Time continued him in his Governments, and in the Command of thoſe Armies that obey'd him before: and they gave him Leave to take a thouſand Talents annually out of the Treaſury for their Pay. He ſoon after married *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Metellus Pius*; and though the Conſulate had been conferred on him without a Collegue, he aſſociated his Father-in-Law into that Dignity for the five laſt Months which remain'd of his Conſulſhip. Which Moderation rendred him ſtill dearer to the Senate. *Pompey ſole Conſul.*

CÆSAR took hence an Opportunity to aſk in his turn the Conſulate, and the Continuation of his Governments. *Pompey* did not oppoſe him; but *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, at his Inſtigation, being his Creatures, alledged, with a Deſign to exclude CÆSAR, That the Laws did not allow to admit any abſent Perſon among the Candidates. Cæſar *demanding the Conſulate, is refuſed it.*

Pompey's View in ſtarting this Obſtacle, was to engage CÆSAR to abandon the Government of *Gaul* and the Command of his Army, to come in Perſon to ſollicit the Conſulate. But CÆSAR, who ſaw through the Artifice, choſe to remain at the

Head of his Forces; and it is reported, that when he heard the Cabal of his Adverſaries had prevailed to have his Deſires rejected, he ſaid, laying his Hand upon his Sword, *This ſhall obtain me what they ſo unjuſtly refuſe me.* Others attribute this Anſwer to one of his principal Officers, whom he had ſent from the Army to demand that Dignity for him.

Meaſures concerted to weaken Cæſar's Intereſt.

The Senate, who acted no longer but according to the Impreſſions of CÆSAR's Enemies, ordained, That two Legions ſhould be draughted out of the Troops under his and *Pompey*'s Command, under Pretence of ſending them into *Syria* againſt the *Parthians*, who were ſaid to threaten that Province with an Incurſion ſince *Craſſus*'s Defeat. *Pompey*, to weaken CÆSAR's Army, ſent to demand that Legion back, which he had lent him. *Appius Claudius* was ſent on that Commiſſion. Though CÆSAR readily penetrated his Enemies Deſigns, yet he delivered thoſe two Legions to the Envoy of the Senate. He loaded the Officers with Preſents, and cauſed two Hundred and fifty Drachma's (about four Pounds *Sterling*) to be diſtributed to every private Soldier, as a Recompence for their Services. But as all that had been given out concerning the Deſigns of the *Parthians*, was only a Pretence made uſe of to weaken CÆSAR's Army, and draw two Legions from it, Thoſe Troops were no ſooner arrived in *Italy*, but they had Quarters aſſigned them in *Campania*, and near *Capua*, inſtead of being ſent to the *Eaſt*.

Appius, at his Return, did CÆSAR a conſiderable Piece of Service, though contrary to his Intention. This Man, to flatter *Pompey*'s Ambition, told him, that the whole Army in *Gaul* wiſhed him their General; and that the Soldiers, ſuſpecting CÆSAR aimed at Monarchy, were reſolved to deſert him, as ſoon as he had brought them back into *Italy*.

Pompey,

Pompey, ſeduced by this falſe Repreſentation, neglected the Precautions that were neceſſary againſt an Enemy, who commanded a powerful Army; and when the chief Men of his Party, amazed to ſee him lull'd aſleep in a deceitful Security, repreſented to him, how much it imported him to ſtrengthen himſelf with new Levies, he anſwer'd them proudly, *That he needed only ſtamp with his Foot on the Ground, and thence he could make arm'd Legions ariſe.* He ſpoke with ſo much Confidence only becauſe he flattered himſelf, that if it came to an open Rupture, Part of CÆSAR's Army would deſert to Him. However, as he fear'd the Fortune and Valour of that great Commander, he endeavoured to have him out of the Government of *Gaul*, without coming to an open Rupture. He concerted Meaſures with the Senate to nominate his Succeſſor. The Affair was put to Conſideration: Every body agreed, That the time of his Commiſſion being near expired, it was juſt to ſend ſome Senator to *Gaul*, who ſhould take on him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army there. *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, who would ſeem to adhere to neither Party, though ſecretly devoted to CÆSAR, declared himſelf for the general Sentiments of the Senators, to whom he paid great Compliments upon the ſame. But he added, That to ſecure the publick Liberty, it was likewiſe neceſſary, that *Pompey* ſhould at the ſame time diſband the Armies under his Command, and quit the Governments of *Spain* and *Lybia*. *Pompey*'s Friends replied to this, That the time of his Commiſſion was not at an End, as *Cæſar*'s was. But *Pompey* himſelf anſwer'd, That he had taken thoſe Employments only out of Reſpect to the Senate's Commands; and was ready to lay them down, without waiting till the time allow'd by the Laws ſhould be expired. He promiſed to be his own Depoſer; and in order to deter-

determine the Senate to give that Moment a Succeſſor to CÆSAR, he added with a ſeeming Candor, That he was thoroughly informed of his Intentions; and that, as his Friend and Relation, he could aſſure them, That that great General, wearied with a ten Years War againſt the moſt Warlike Nations of the Earth, coveted nothing more than to taſte the Sweets of a peaceable Life in his own Native Country.

Curio's *Craft againſt* Pompey.

Curio, who diſcerned all the Artifice of this Speech, and ſaw that *Pompey* had ſpoken ſo poſitively about CÆSAR's Sentiments, with no other View, than to obtain that his Succeſſor ſhould be named; anſwered, It was not ſufficient he ſhould promiſe to quit his Governments, it behoved he ſhould do it that very Inſtant: That they were Both too powerful, and the Intereſt of the Commonwealth requir'd, Both ſhould become private Men at the ſame Time. He concluded, it was his Opinion, That unleſs they did Both at the ſame time quit the Command of their Armies, they Both ſhould be declared Enemies of the Commonwealth.

Curio had no other Deſign, in preſſing ſo warmly their mutual Abdication, but to conceal his ſecret Inclination to CÆSAR's Intereſt; and he did it the more readily, becauſe he was very well informed, *Pompey* could never reſolve to quit his Governments; and although he had done it, and CÆSAR ſhould likewiſe have been obliged to quit the Command of his Army, *Curio* was very ſenſible by how many Ties CÆSAR had bound his Officers and Soldiers to his Fortune; and that it would not be difficult for him to liſt thoſe Troops anew under his Colours, which were ſecretly kept in his Pay.

Year of Rome, 704.

Marcellus's *ſubtile Artifices againſt* Cæſar.

This Tribune not having got his Opinion to prevail, broke up the Senate according to the Power of his Office. The Conſuls, *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, ſummoned it toge-

together again a few Days after. *Marcellus*, firſt Conſul, and an open Adherent of *Pompey*, took a particular Method to get him continued in his Governments. He put the Queſtions about Cæsar and *Pompey* ſeparately: And the firſt Queſtion was, Whether the Senators thought it reaſonable, that *Pompey* ſhould lay down the Authority wherewith the Senate had inveſted him? The Majority was for the Negative. He then told the Votes concerning Cæsar, after having put the Queſtion, Whether it was their Opinion to give Cæsar a Succeſſor? To which all unanimouſly conſented. But *Curio*, though he was not then a Tribune, having put the Queſtion, Whether the Senate did not think it yet more adviſeable, that Both ſhould quit the Command of their Armies? After telling the Voices, they found three Hundred and Seventy for the Affirmative; againſt no more than twenty two, who obſtinately retained their Opinion, That *Pompey* only ſhould keep the Command of his Forces.

Rash Expreſſion and Action of Marcellus.

Marcellus, aſhamed and angry to ſee his Party reduced to ſo ſmall a Number, cried out with much Warmth, *Well then! let* Cæsar *be your Maſter, ſince you will have it ſo.* Upon which ſome of his Friends having added, to intimidate the Senate, That Cæsar was come on this Side the *Alps*, and was marching at the Head of his whole Army ſtrait for *Rome*, and *Curio* having ſhow'd the Impertinence of that News; the Conſul, enrag'd that he could not bring the Senate into his own Opinion, went out abruptly, ſaying, That ſince he was hindred in his Care of the Commonwealth, he would apply ſuch Remedies to the impending Ruin, as he ſhould think moſt fitting according to the Power of his Office. Thence he went with his Collegue *Lentulus* a little way out of Town, to a Houſe where *Pompey* was; and preſenting him a Sword, he ſaid, ſpeaking in the Name of Both;

We

We command you to march againſt Cæſar, *and to fight for the Defence of our Native Country.* *Pompey* declared, that he would obey them; and added with a feigned Modeſty, *Unleſs a more happy Expedient be firſt found out.*

Cæſar's politick Management.

CÆSAR, informed of all the Tranſactions at *Rome*, that he might always have the Appearance of Juſtice on his Side, wrote ſeveral times to the Senate with a great deal of Temper, and as deſiring Peace. He required, either they ſhould continue him in his Government, as they had granted *Pompey*; or that he might be allowed to put up for the Conſulate, though abſent from *Rome*. He afterwards renewed *Curio*'s Propoſal, inſiſting, that *Pompey* and He ſhould at the ſame time quit their Governments, and Command of the Armies. But the Senators, who for the greateſt part favoured *Pompey*, having rejected all thoſe Propoſals, CÆSAR fell ſo low as only to demand, that the Government of *Illirium* and the Command of two Legions ſhould be continued to him; which however it is probable, he would never have propoſed, if he had believed they would have granted it him. But he was very well apprized, that the contrary Party had reſolved to diſarm him entirely; and indeed they rejected every one of his Propoſals. *Marcellus*, firſt Conſul, and entirely devoted to *Pompey*, naturally proud and haughty, ſaid, It was ſhameful to the Commonwealth to treat with one of her Subjects, while he was yet in Arms. And *Lentulus*, his Collegue, overloaded with Debts, and who could not ſtand it but by favour of the publick Diſturbances, was not ſorry that a Civil War ſhould happen, becauſe he might make himſelf conſiderable, and amaſs great Riches, if his Party prevailed.

Cæſar paſſes the Alps; his Menaces.

CÆSAR, who rightly foreſaw the Succeſs of this Negociation, paſſed the *Alps* at the Head of the third Legion, and halted at *Ravenna*. He ſent imme-

immediately to *Rome Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, with Letters for the Senate. He therein began with a lofty Relation of all his great Exploits; and begg'd that ſome Regard ſhould be had to his Services. He next proteſted, that he was ready to quit the Command jointly with POMPEY; but if that General pretended to keep it, he on his part ſhould know how to maintain himſelf at the Head of his Legions: That he even deſigned to be at *Rome* in a few Days, to revenge his private Injuries, and thoſe that were done to his Country.

Theſe laſt threatning Words raiſed the whole Senate againſt him. *Lentulus* ſaid, it was uſeleſs to deliberate upon a Letter which contain'd a Declaration of War; and added, in a violent Paſſion, there was more occaſion to take up Arms, than to count the Votes concerning ſo great a Robber as CÆSAR. *Lucius Domitius* was inſtantly appointed his Succeſſor, and they gave him four Thouſand new Levies to enable him to go and take Poſſeſſion of his Government. Then they formed the Decree of the Senate, as dictated by the moſt declared Enemies of CÆSAR. It was therein ordained, That he ſhould within ſuch a time diſband his Army; and, if he refuſed to obey, That he ſhould be proſecuted as an Enemy of the Commonwealth. To no Purpoſe did *Marc. Antony*, then Tribune, back'd by *Curio* and *Caſſius*, endeavour, by virtue of their Office, to oppoſe this Decree: The Conſuls, provoked at their Oppoſition, drove them forcibly out of the Senate. *Pompey* himſelf had ſent ſecretly for Soldiers to inſult 'em. *Antony*, before he left the Senate, cried out, That the Tribunitian Dignity, which hitherto had been kept ſacred, was no longer ſecure from Inſult; but that he foreſaw, that ſuch violent Proceedings were only the Prelude of bloody Wars, Proſcriptions and Murders. And at going off, he made horrible Imprecations againſt ſuch as were the Cauſe of thoſe Diſ-

Decree againſt Cæſar.

Plut. in Cæſ.

The Tribunes being driven out of the Senate, go to Cæſar.

aſters: And theſe three Senators, after having diſguiſ'd themſelves like Slaves for fear of being known, made all the Haſte they could to CÆSAR's Camp.

The War begins. The Decree of the Senate was like a Declaration of War. Two powerful Parties were ſeen to take up Arms, both pretending to do it for the Defence of the Laws and Liberty; but whoſe Chiefs had no other but a ſecret View to eſtabliſh their own Power, and to deſtroy that Liberty and thoſe very Laws. *Pompey*'s Party had ſomething more of a ſpecious Outſide: He cover'd himſelf with the awful Name of the Commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her General, and the whole Senate together with the Conſuls follow'd his Enſigns. CÆSAR had on his Side the Hearts of the People, ſupported by a victorious Army; and if *Pompey*'s Party had a greater Appearance of Juſtice, That of his Rival was the moſt powerful and the ſecureſt.

The Senate flattered themſelves, that CÆSAR could not have drawn his Forces ſo ſoon from the remoteſt Part of *Gaul*, where they were quartered in different Provinces; and that before they had paſſed the *Alps*, *Pompey* would have a conſiderable Army on foot. But CÆSAR, whoſe Foreſight and Activity were matchleſs, reſolved to prevent his Enemies by the Suddenneſs and Boldneſs of his March. He was already at *Ravenna*, as we have ſaid. He immediately ſent a ſecret Order to ſuch of his Troops as were the neareſt, to advance towards the *Rubicon*, a ſmall River that parted his Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina* from the reſt of *Italy*.

He himſelf ſet out in the Evening, march'd all Night with uncommon Diligence, and arrived at the Place appointed by Break of Day, where he found about five Thouſand Foot, and three Hundred Horſe. He halted a while on the Bank of that little River. He was uneaſy about the Succeſs of his Undertaking, and all the Evils and Diſaſters of a Civil War, preſented themſelves at once

once to his Mind. CÆSAR, brought up in the Bosom of a Commonwealth, could not, as he drew near to *Rome*, look on the approaching Ruin of his Country without being concern'd. He had hitherto thought himſelf ſure of a Firmneſs of Soul, or rather an Inſenſibility, which he could not without the greateſt Difficulty attain; and Liberty, ready to fall by his Arm, gave him ſome Remorſe. *If I put off any longer the croſſing of this River*, (ſaid he to the chief Officers about him) *I am undone*; *and if I do croſs it, How many People ſhall I make wretched!* But after having reflected on the Hatred and Inveteracy of his Enemies, and his own Strength, he throws himſelf into the River, and croſſes it, ſaying, (what is common upon doubtful and dangerous Undertakings;) *It is done: The Die is thrown.* He immediately marched with all the Speed that it was poſſibly to do with a Body of Infantry. He arrives before *Rimini*, ſurprizes the Place, and makes himſelf Maſter of it. Plut. in Cæſ. App. l. 2.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Terror and Fear all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf was in, upon the News of the taking of that Place: They fancied this dreaded Captain already at the Gates of the City, with all the Forces he commanded in *Gaul*. The Senate met ſeveral times, without coming to any Reſolution; their Minds were too fluctuating and divided. Several Senators, without propoſing any Thing themſelves, only contradicted the Advice of others; and in thoſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, nothing was agreed on but what proved impoſſible to execute. *Pompey* was not without Uneaſineſs in this Confuſion. He had neither Troops, nor a Place of Retreat, and was obliged to bear with the Reproaches of moſt part of the Senate, who complained, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be lulled aſleep by CÆSAR's Letters, and the deceitful Show he made of deſiring Peace. *Cato* himſelf told him, That he could not deny but he had warn'd

Cæſar *takes* Rimini.

Pompey *perplex'd.*

warn'd him often, that the ſecret Deſigns of CÆSAR were to make himſelf ſole Maſter of the Government. *I own*, (reply'd *Pompey*) *that you knew him better than I: You unravell'd his true Sentiments as they were in reality; but as for me, I have hitherto judg'd of them only by what I thought they ſhould be.* Every Senator thought himſelf privileged to make him Reproaches, and to adviſe him. He met with Oppoſition on all ſides, and this fill'd his Mind with Fear and Suſpicions. The very People now refus'd Obedience to their Magiſtrates; and every Man ſet up for the Arbiter of his Duty, under Pretence of providing for his own Safety.

Plut. in Pomp.

Pompey *leaves* Rome: Dion. l. 41.

POMPEY, in this Confuſion, ſeeing himſelf in *Rome* without Troops, and fearing, if he ſhould arm the People, they would declare againſt him in Favour of CÆSAR, reſolv'd to carry the Seat of the War farther, and to go to *Apulia*, where the two Legions were encamp'd, which CÆSAR had ſurrender'd to *Appius*. He remonſtrated to the Senate, That he ſhould not be long in want of Soldiers, if they would but follow him out of *Rome*, and even out of *Italy*, in caſe he could not maintain himſelf there: That true *Romans* ought to think any Country theirs, where they could preſerve their Liberty: That the Commonwealth had two Legions near *Capua*, two more in *Theſſaly*: and That *Petreius* and *Afranius*, his Lieutenants in *Spain*, were at the Head of a powerful Army, entirely made up of Veterans, who were no ways inferior to thoſe of CÆSAR, either for Courage or Experience, beſides the Troops diſperſ'd in the different Provinces of *Aſia* and *Africa*, and the Succours that might be expected from the Kings in Alliance with the *Roman* State. The Conſuls, and a great Number of Senators, all Friends or Creatures of POMPEY, generouſly reſolv'd to follow his Fortune. They left *Rome* in

the

the Evening very haſtily: However diſmal this Departure was, which diſtanc'd them from their Native Country, and was going to ſeparate them from their Wives and Children, they conſider'd *Rome*, where they could not maintain themſelves, to be no other than CÆSAR's Camp.

It was not long, indeed, before he made himſelf Maſter of it; and he was receiv'd there by his Adherents, and by all the People with a general Applauſe. As in a Civil War, Money is no leſs neceſſary than Arms, he ſeiz'd on the Publick Treaſure, in Spite of *Metellus*, Tribune of the People, who offer'd to hinder it: He even threatned to kill him, if he did not retire. And having taken thence four Thouſand one Hundred and thirty Pound Weight of Gold, and eighty Thouſand Pound Weight of Silver, which makes near two Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, he put himſelf in a Condition to march after POMPEY and his Followers: But that General of the Senate, who was reſolv'd to draw the War into Length, to have time to gather more Forces, paſs'd over from *Italy* into *Epirus*, and taking Shipping at *Brunduſium*, he arriv'd in the Port of *Dyrrachium* (*Durazzo*, a Port of *Albania*.) CÆSAR, not being able to overtake him, made himſelf Maſter of all *Italy* in leſs than two Months. The Detail and particular Events of the Civil War do not belong to my Purpoſe: It is known, that the Empire coſt CÆSAR in a manner but one Hour's Time, ſince the Battle of *Pharſalia* decided the whole Matter. The Death of *Pompey*, ſoon after Kill'd in *Egypt*, compleated the Fall of his Party. The Activity of CÆSAR, and Rapidity of his Victories, gave no time to croſs him in his Deſigns. War carry'd him into different Climates; Victory follow'd him almoſt every where; and Glory never forſook him: His Moderation and Clemency

Cæſar *in* Rome. D. H. id. ibid.

Pompey *goes into* Epirus. *Year of* Rome, 705. D. H. l. 4. App. l. 2. Plut. in Cæſare. Pomp. Cicer. Cæſar. Civ. Bell. l. 1. & 2. Florus. Eutrop. Vellei. Sueton. Zonaras.

diſarm'd his Enemies quite; and tho' educated by his Uncle *Marius*, he retain'd of him neither that obſtinate Hatred, nor that cruel Deſire of Revenge, which made that former Chief of a Party ſpill ſo much Blood.

Clemency of Cæſar *when victorious.*

CÆSAR, either more humane, or more artful, always ſacrific'd his private Reſentments to the eſtabliſhing of his Command. He forgave all *Pompey*'s Adherents. Nay, there were ſeveral whom he did not uſe otherwiſe than even his beſt Friends, when it came to the diſtributing of Places and Dignities in the Empire. All from that time gave way to his Power; and two Years after his paſſing the *Rubicon*, he enter'd *Rome*, Maſter of the whole World, and triumphant over all his Enemies.

Cæſar, *perpetual Dictator.*

The Senate, after his Return, decreed him Extraordinary Honours, and an unlimited Authority, which left the Commonwealth but a Shadow of Liberty. He was appointed Conſul for ten Years, and perpetual Dictator. They gave him the Name of *Imperator*, and the Auguſt Title of *Father of his Country*. His Perſon was declar'd ſacred and inviolable. This was uniting and perpetuating in him alone the Power and yearly Prerogatives of all the Dignities of the State. They added to this Profuſion of Honours the Privilege of ſitting at all publick Games in a gilded Chair, with a golden Crown upon his Head; and it was ordain'd by a Decree, that even after his Deceaſe, That Chair and Crown ſhould be plac'd as uſual at all the publick Spectacles, to render his Memory immortal. Nothing was wanting now but the Title of King. He deliberated whether he ſhould aſſume it, and he in a manner try'd on the Diadem. But having diſcern'd the Averſion the *Romans* had for the Name and Pomp of Royalty, he durſt not venture to fix the Crown upon his Head in the Midſt of a Commonwealth whoſe Liber-

He tries on the Diadem and rejects it.

Liberty he had ſo lately oppreſs'd: He choſe to appear in Publick neither as a Sovereign, nor as a private Perſon. He reſolv'd upon a third Expedient, more doubtful and dangerous. He weakly flatter'd himſelf with Hopes of dazzling his Fellow-Citizens by I know not what ſtrange and inconſiſtent Mixture of Liberty and abſolute Power; and he was even bold enough to uſe Clemency at the Beginning of a Uſurpation. It was to gain the Confidence of the Senate and the Republican Party, that, contrary to the Advice of his beſt Friends, he broke his *Spaniſh* Guards; not conſidering, as they hinted to him, that Dominion got by Force of Arms, was not to be preſerv'd but by the ſame Means. But Cæsar, now become the Maſter of the World, too eaſily credited the Diſcourſes of his Flatterers, who gave him to underſtand, *That after having put an End to the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth was more concern'd than himſelf in his Preſervation.* *His over-Confidence and Self-Security.*

His Enemies took Advantage of his over-much Security, and turn'd thoſe falſe Meaſures againſt himſelf. Moſt of the Senators had conferr'd thoſe extraordinary Honours on him with no other View than to render him odious, and that they might work his Ruin the ſurer. The Grandees chiefly who had follow'd *Pompey*'s Fortune, and who could not forgive him their owing their Lives in the Plains of *Pharſalia* to Him, upbraided themſelves ſecretly for accepting of his Kindneſs, as having been in one Senſe the Price of the Publick Liberty; and Thoſe whom he fancy'd his beſt Friends, accepted of his Favours only to have the freer Acceſs to his Perſon, and to accompliſh his Deſtruction. D. H. l. 44. *His Enemies.*

He had form'd a Deſign to turn his Arms againſt the *Parthians*, to avenge the Defeat and Death of *Craſſus*; and he was to ſet out upon that Expedi-

tion in a few Days. His Creatures and Flatterers, to diſpoſe the *Romans* to ſee him inveſted with the Title of King with leſs Reluctancy, made it their Buſineſs to give out, that the Books of the Sybils declar'd, that the *Parthians* could never be vanquiſh'd, unleſs the *Romans* had a King for their General. It is even affirm'd, that *Aurelius Cotta*, one of his Creatures, who had thoſe ſacred Volumes in his keeping, was to make his Report out of them on the Ides of *March* to the Senate; and that CÆSAR's Friends, by way of qualifying the Matter on Account of the Commonwealth, were to propoſe that ſame Day, That he ſhould only be ſtil'd Dictator in *Rome*, and all over *Italy*; but that he ſhould be acknowledg'd a King, and take upon him that Title, in reſpect of all foreign Nations ſubject to the *Roman* Empire.

Conſpiracy againſt him.

CÆSAR's Enemies made uſe of thoſe Rumours to haſten his Ruin. They deteſted his Ambition, and all that were zealous Commonwealthſmen reſolv'd rather to periſh, than to ſee the entire Extinction of the publick Liberty. It was agreed in private Cabals, that the Commonwealth could be no longer maintain'd without the Death of the Dictator: and above ſixty Senators conſpir'd againſt his Life.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, whom CÆSAR had made Prætors for that Year, were at the Head of this Party. *Brutus* glory'd in being ſprung from that ancient *Brutus*, whom the Commonwealth own'd for its Founder. Love of Liberty was tranſmitted to him with the Blood of his Anceſtors. But tho' he was a declar'd Enemy to Monarchy, he could hardly tell how to hate the Monarch, of whom he had receiv'd ſo many Favours; and it was only the Love of his Country, ſuperior to all Obligations, that made him enter into the Conſpiracy. *Caſſius*, on the contrary, naturally proud and imperious,

perious, and even a greater Enemy of the Tyrant than of the Tyranny, ſought, in CÆSAR's Undoing, nothing more than to be revenged for ſome Injuries he had receiv'd of him; and he came into the Plot not ſo much for the publick Good, as to ſatisfy his private Paſſion.

The Conſpirators, to give a ſpecious Colour to their Deſigns, put off the Execution of them to the Ides of *March*, that is, till the Day that CÆSAR was to be proclaim'd King. Some Diviners had foretold him, That that Day would be fatal to him; and the Night before, he perceiv'd that *Calphurnia* his Wife ſigh'd and groan'd extremely in her Sleep. She own'd to him in the Morning, that ſhe dream'd ſhe held him in her Arms ſtabb'd in many Places. She intreated him not to go abroad that Day, but to put off the Aſſembly of the Senate; or at leaſt, if her Prayers could not prevail, not to refuſe her the Satisfaction of conſulting the Event by Sacrifice. *Prognoſticks of his Death.* Vel. Pat. l. 2. c. 59.

CÆSAR, tho' not very ſuperſtitious, could not refuſe that Complaiſance to a virtuous Wife whom he lov'd; the more, becauſe the Auguries were of great Weight: and there were but very few People, who did not run after thoſe Preſages, which were reputed in thoſe Days the Interpreters of Deſtiny. A great many Sacrifices were offer'd; and as there was not one Sign but what was ominous and foreboded Ill, CÆSAR reſolv'd to diſmiſs the Senate, and gave Orders for it to *Marc Antony*, his deareſt Confident, whom he had made Conſul for that Year.

Decimus Brutus, who had no leſs Share in his Truſt, tho' one of the Conſpirators, fearing that if CÆSAR put off going to the Senate, the Plot might be diſcover'd, remonſtrated to him, That ſince the Senate was ſummon'd by his ſpecial Order, they would take this Counter-Order for an Affront; Plut. in Cæſar.

Affront; That the whole Company was diſpos'd to declare him King of all the Provinces out of *Italy*; and he ſhould not put off the Joy which his Friends conceiv'd at ſeeing him inveſted with that glorious Title, which would be a Monument and a Recompence of his many great Victories. And as he was ſaying ſeveral more ſuch flattering Things, he took him by the Hand, and drew him out of his Houſe. It is reported, that by the way he received ſeveral Notes, which diſcover'd the Conſpiracy to him, but that the Multitude about him did not permit him to read them; but that he gave them to his Secretaries, as he uſed to do the Petitions that were preſented to him, when he appear'd abroad.

He is aſſaſſinated.

Scarce was he come down from his Litter, when all the Conſpirators, as to do him Honour, ſurrounded him. *Attilius Cimber*, who was one of them, preſented himſelf, according to what they had agreed, to demand his Brother's Pardon, who was baniſh'd. Upon CÆSAR's Refuſal, *Cimber*, under Pretence of begging it with greater Submiſſion, laid hold of the Bottom of his Robe, but pull'd it ſo hard, that he made him bend his Neck. Then *Caſca* drew his Dagger, and ſtabb'd him in the Shoulder; but the Wound prov'd but ſlight. CÆSAR flew at him, and threw him down; but as they were ſcuffling, another of the Conſpirators came behind, and ſtabb'd him in the Side. *Caſſius*, at the ſame time, wounded him in the Face, and *Brutus* pierc'd his Thigh. He was yet defending himſelf with much Courage; but the Blood he loſt through ſo many Wounds, having weaken'd him, he went to the Feet of *Pompey*'s Statue, where he fell and expir'd, after having been ſtabb'd in three and twenty Places by the Hands of thoſe whom he thought he had diſarm'd by his good Offices.

App. l. 2. c. 36.

Plut. in Cæſare.

Year of Rome, 709.

The

The Conſpirators, ſeeing him dead, offered at the ſame time to give an Account to the Senate of the Motives of their Undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an Action, which had reſtored Liberty to their Country. But no body would hearken to them: Moſt of the Senators, terrify'd and fill'd with Amazement, ran away in great Haſte. They retir'd to their Houſes, where they locked themſelves up, without knowing what they had to hope or to fear from ſo bold an Action, and ſo tragical an Event. *The Terror the Senate was in.* Plut. ibid.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

Book XIV.

After Cæsar's *Death, two Parties arise in the Commonwealth. One Side declares for the Conspirators; the other demand, that the Death of the Dictator be reveng'd.* Mark Antony *the Consul declares sometimes for one, sometimes for t'other, according as it suits his own private Views. His Scheme of Grandeur crossed by young* Octavius, *Grand-Nephew and adopted Son of the Dictator.* Octavius *procures his Adoption to be confirmed by the Prætor, and declares himself openly Heir of his Great-Uncle, whose Name he assumes By* Cicero's *Assistance, he brings the Senate over to his Interest. The Triumvirate of* Cæsar, Antony *and* Lepidus. *Cruel Proscriptions.* Cæsar *makes use of the Forces of* Lepidus *and* Antony, *to unite the Conspirators and their Adherents. He afterwards declares against* Antony *and* Lepidus *themselves, and at last remains sole Master of the whole* Roman *Empire.*

The Conspirators disavow'd by some, and approv'd of by others. App. l. 2. c. 37.

BRUTUS and *Cassius*, not having had Power to keep the Senate together, went all over the City, followed by their Accomplices, with their Daggers yet bloody in their Hands. To bring the People over to their Party, they proclaimed in the Streets, that they had killed the King of *Rome*, and the Tyrant of their Country. They were preceded by a Herald, who on a Javelin carried a Hat for a Signal of Liberty; and they

they exhorted the People to lend them a helping Hand in reſtoring the Commonwealth. Some Senators, that had no Share in the Plot, joined the Conſpirators to do themſelves Honour, and publickly beſtowed large Encomiums upon them. But there was no body among the People, who declared for them. They were no longer thoſe ancient *Romans*, who preferred Liberty before Life. Moſt, become effeminate with the Delicacies of *Rome*, accuſtomed to live by the Price of their Votes which they ſold to the higheſt Bidder, or by the liberal Preſents of the Dictator, bewailed him as the Father of his Country. The Conſpirators, ſurprized at their melancholy Looks, retired to the Capitol; whither, for their Safety, they carried a great Number of Gladiators, Dependants on *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conſpirators; and they ſaw with Grief, that the Death of an Uſurper was going to create freſh Calamities in the Commonwealth. And indeed, *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and other more particular Favourites of *Cæſar*, who at firſt hid themſelves for Fear of being involved in his Ruin, appeared in Publick as ſoon as they perceived this Diſpoſition in the People: They called together their Creatures, and reſolved to revenge the Death of the Dictator. *Lepidus*, by Order of *Antony*, who was Conſul, cauſed a Body of Troops, which he commanded as General of the Horſe, to advance into the very Field of *Mars*. *Antony*, on his Part, being then firſt Conſul, and intruſted with the Government, cauſed *Cæſar*'s Money and Papers to be carried to his own Houſe, and ſummoned the Senate. Never did that Auguſt Body meet on ſo important and nice an Occaſion. They came there to decide, whether *Cæſar* had been an Uſurper, or a lawful Magiſtrate; and whether thoſe that had killed him, deſerved to be rewarded or puniſhed. *Antony*, to prevent many of the moſt noted in

Antony *and* Lepidus *are for avenging* Cæſar. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 58.

Year of Rome, 709.

Idem. App. Ibid.

The Senate deliberates upon Cæſar's *Death.*

the Senate, who held Places and Governments by no other Authority than *Cæſar*'s Liberality, from declaring againſt his Memory, put the Queſtion, Whether, ſuppoſing he was declared an Uſurper, all his Ordinances ſhould likewiſe be declared void, and whether all the Regulations he had made in the Empire ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Magiſtrates of the Commonwealth, and Governors of Provinces, whom he had nominated, ſhould reſign their Offices?

App. l. 2. c. 39.

There were two Parties in the Senate, who, without declaring themſelves openly, carried on two very contrary Deſigns with Abundance of Art and Diſſimulation. *Antony*, at the Head of *Cæſar*'s Creatures and Friends, aimed at the Sovereign Power himſelf, and fought it in the Ruin of all the Aſſaſſins. The true Republicans, without approving openly what had newly happen'd, had no other View than the reſtoring the Commonwealth; and moſt, being either Relations or Friends to the Conſpirators, would not have been ſorry to obtain ſome diſtant Governments for them, leſs to do them Honour, than to provide for their Safety. But as in this new Confuſion the greater Part of the Senators did not ſee through each other's Deſigns, they all miſtruſted one another, and did not open themſelves without Abundance of Caution, not knowing as yet whom they ſhould e'er long be obliged either to love or to hate: So that after ſeveral different Overtures, they took a Medium to content both Parties. It was agreed that no body ſhould be proſecuted for *Cæſar*'s Death, but it was ſtipulated by the ſame Decree, that all his Ordinances ſhould ſtand.

Cæſar declared as it were both innocent and guilty.

This was, as it were, to declare him at the ſame Time both Innocent and Guilty; ſince it was inconſiſtent for the Senate to confirm what he had done during his Dictatorſhip, and at the ſame time to decree, that his Murderers ſhould not be pro-

proſecuted. *Antony* was very ſenſible of this Contradiction; but he durſt not oppoſe this Decree of the Senate, for fear of *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conſpirators, who was Governor of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and Commander of a powerful Army. He thought it proper to conceal his real Sentiments, till he were able to cope with him, or till ſome favourable Opportunity enabled him to ſnatch his Government from him, and to entice away his Soldiers, who moſt of them had ſerved under him in CÆSAR's Armies. Theſe were the Reaſons that prevailed with him to ſubſcribe to the Senate's Decree. The Provinces were diſtributed at the ſame Time; *Brutus* got the Government of the Iſle of *Crete*, *Caſſius* of *Africa*, *Trebonius* of *Aſia*, *Cimber* of *Bythinia*; and *Decimus Brutus* was confirm'd in that of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which had been given him by *Cæſar*. *Antony* even conſented to ſee *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. There was a Sort of a Reconciliation made between thoſe Heads of the two Parties: But no body took this to be ſincere. Their Hearts were too much ulcerated to continue in the Terms of Moderation; and it was not long before *Antony* ſhowed openly, that he deſigned to be revenged on all the Conſpirators. CÆSAR had truſted his Will to *Piſo*, his Father-in-Law. The Time was now come to open it, and at the ſame Time to celebrate the Funeral of the Dictator. *Caſſius* oppoſed it, and was therein ſeconded by his Adherents in the Senate, who feared that the Sight of thoſe Obſequies would renew the Affection of the People, and cauſe freſh Troubles. *Antony* and *Piſo*, with that very Deſign, ſtrongly inſiſted, that one who had been *Pontifex Maximus* ought not to be deprived of the Honours of Sepulture. "Thoſe who boaſt of having killed a "Tyrant, ſaid *Piſo*, treat us themſelves like Ty-"rants. They are very willing, that whatever "*Cæſar* has done in their Behalf ſhould be ratifi-"ed;

The Provinces given to the Conſpirators. Plut. in Bruto.

Cæſar's *Will.* Plut. ibid.

App. l. 2. c. 40.

"ed: and at the ſame time, in an imperious manner, demand that his laſt Diſpoſitions be ſuppreſſed. The Senate, added *Piſo*, may regulate what they think the moſt fitting to honour the Obſequies of that great Man; but as to his Will, which he depoſited in my Hands, I will not betray his Truſt; and unleſs I am deprived of Life, I am reſolved to read it before the whole People. The Affair was debated by both Parties with much Warmth. At laſt *Brutus*, who perhaps did not foreſee the Conſequences of this Step, obliged thoſe of his Party to give way to the other. It was decreed, That CÆSAR's Will ſhould be executed, and his Funeral-Rites perform'd at the publick Charge.

App. l. 2. c. 42. Octavius *ſucceeds* Cæſar.

The Will being produced, was read in Preſence of all the People. There it was found, that he had adopted *Octavius*, Son to his Siſter's Daughter, for his Son and principal Heir; That in Caſe he died without Heirs Male, he had nominated for his next Heir *Decimus Brutus*, one of the principal Conſpirators; That he had nominated ſome others of *Brutus*'s Accomplices, to take care of *Octavius*'s Education, he being yet but eighteen Years old. By the ſame Will, he left his Gardens to the People of *Rome*, and to every individual Citizen the Sum of ſeventy five *Attick* Drachma's, or three Hundred Seſterces. The People were extremely moved, when they heard that that great Man, of whom they had received ſo many Favours during his Life-time, had extended his good-Will towards them even beyond his Life, by new Liberalities. Sentiments of Grief and Gratitude forced Tears from the whole Aſſembly; and this general Affection was converted into an Indignation againſt the Conſpirators, and chiefly againſt *Decimus Brutus*, who had plunged his Dagger into the Boſom of Him who in ſo honourable a Man-

Plut. in Cæſare.

ner

ner had juſt before appointed him one of his Heirs.

Antony, perceiving this Diſpoſition in the Minds of the People, ſent for the Corpſe into the *Forum*, to increaſe their Reſentment at ſo moving a Sight. He himſelf pronounced his Funeral Oration. He began it with the Recital of his Victories and Conqueſts. He next enlarg'd very much upon that uncommon Moderation which the Dictator had ſhow'd towards his private Enemies, during the whole Courſe of the Civil War. From this he proceeded to the extraordinary Honours which the Senate had decreed him, as an Evidence and a Recompence of his Virtues. He repeated aloud the Decree, by which he was declared Father of his Country, and his Perſon ſacred and inviolable.——As ſoon as he had ſpoke this laſt Sentence, he made a Stop; and turning himſelf towards the Corpſe laid on the *Funeral Pile*, and ſhowing it to the People, "See there, ſays he, "how well we keep our Oaths, how grateful we "approve our ſelves! A perjur'd and ungrateful "Crew, continued he, have dar'd to aſſaſſinate "the greateſt of Men, even that very Man, who "after having generouſly given them their Lives "in the Plains of *Pharſalia*, had likewiſe rais'd them "to the higheſt Dignities in the Commonwealth. And then, as it were, introducing CÆSAR himſelf ſpeaking and complaining of their Ingratitude: "Wherefore did I preſerve the Lives of my Murderers? Shall I not find one Friend among that "great Number on whom I heap'd and accumulated my Favours, that will revenge me of the "Perfidiouſneſs of thoſe Traytors?" Then, raiſing his Voice, and ſtretching forth his Hands towards the Capitol, he cry'd out in his own Perſon, "Oh "*Jupiter!* Here I am, ready to revenge him; "I ſwear it in the moſt ſolemn Manner: And ye "Gods, Protectors of this Empire, I conjure ye "to

Antony's Funeral Oration on Cæſar.

After the Time of Sylla, the Romans burnt their dead, inſtead of burying them

" to favour me in the executing ſo juſt a Duty. And ſtill the more to aggravate the Grief and Reſentment of the Multitude, he takes CÆSAR's Robe, and holds it up to their View all bloody. At the ſame time he ſhews his Image, which he had for that Purpoſe cauſed to be made of Wax, and on which the Artiſt by his Order had expreſſed the three and twenty Wounds, which the Dictator had received both in his Face and other Parts of his Body.

Cæſar regretted. At this ſad Spectacle, all the People melted into Tears; each celebrated his Virtues. Some cried up his uncommon Valour, others his Sweetneſs and Clemency; all equally abhorred the Cruelty of the Aſſaſſins: And Rage ſucceeding to Compaſſion, a Body of *Plebeians* haſten'd to the ſeveral Houſes of the Conſpirators to ſet fire to them. But they had provided againſt it, ſtrengthning themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Domeſticks. That Multitude without any other Arms, beſides their Grief and Anger, was eaſily beaten off. The People, not proving the ſtrongeſt, retreated, making bitter Imprecations mix'd with Threats. The moſt violent swore aloud, that they would return the next Day with Fire and Sword, and ſacrifice them to CÆSAR's Ghoſt.

App. l. 3. c. 2. *The Fear and Moderation of the Conſpirators.* The Conſpirators, and even the Senate, were equally offended at the artful Speech of *Antony*. The Conſpirators complain'd, that the Conſul, contrary to the Decree of the Senate and his own Word, by which it had been agreed to bury all that had paſs'd in Oblivion, had ſo pathetically enlarged on the Praiſes of CÆSAR with no other View, but to excite the Rage of the People, and promote their Ruin. They ſaw very well, that they could not much depend on his Oaths. The Conſpirators, now pretty ſure that he would make the moſt of the Averſion which the People expreſſed towards them, to procure their undoing, left

left *Rome*, where they could no longer abide with Safety. Moſt of them upon different Pretences retired to their Governments. They underhand made themſelves ſure of the Legions and other Forces, which they found in the Provinces. Several ſeized on the publick Monies. The Kings and Cities of the *Eaſt*, in Alliance with the *Roman* State, promiſed them powerful Succours. Their Party became formidable. *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and the other Conſpirators, made no ill Uſe of it. They on the contrary declar'd, That they were ready to live the Remainder of their Days out of their Native Country and in Baniſhment, provided that CÆSAR's Creatures did not invade the publick Liberty.

The Senate, without declaring themſelves openly, did however ſecretly favour their Undertakings, being convinced that the Preſervation of the Republican Government depended upon the Succeſs of that Party. *Antony* was not ignorant of their being that way inclined. He knew how odious he had rendred himſelf to moſt of the Senators, by his moving the People's Anger againſt the Conſpirators, under Pretence of making CÆSAR's Panegyrick. He found that he had diſcover'd himſelf too ſoon. As it was in the Senate's Power to croſs his Deſigns, he reſolved to regain their Favour, or at leaſt to blind them for a while, by ſoftning in ſome other Speeches what he had ſaid amiſs in his Funeral Oration. He remonſtrated in the Senate, that the Death of that Great Man ought more to be aſcribed to ſome of the Gods, jealous of, and averſe to, the Proſperity of the Commonwealth, than to any of the Citizens. That all their Attention henceforth ſhould be how to reunite the People's Minds, divided on this fatal Accident, and to prevent the Calamities of a Civil War. At the ſame time, as a Seal of Peace, he propoſed to recal *Sextus Pompeius*, Son of *Pompey* the

Antony's artful Management.

the Great, who, ſince his Father's Death, had ſtaid in *Spain*; to make good to him at the publick Charge all his Eſtates that had been confiſcated, and which CÆSAR had divided among his own Creatures. He added, that it was his Opinion, he ought to have the ſupreme Command of all the Naval Forces of the State, in the ſame manner as his Father had before him.

App. l. 3. c. 1.

The moſt reſolute Commonwealthſman durſt not have propos'd ſuch a Thing in the preſent Circumſtances. The Senate was equally ſurpriz'd and overjoy'd at it. Some attributed this Change in ANTONY to his Fear of the Conſpirators: Others ſuſpected, that he did not care to draw the Hatred of the Senate upon himſelf, by ſetting up for the Avenger of CÆSAR's Death, whilſt young *Octavius*, the Dictator's Heir, was preparing to reap all the Advantages of it. All the Senators, however, extoll'd him upon it; and beſtow'd Praiſes ſo much the ſincerer, as they found in the Reſtoration of young *Pompey*, the Condemnation, as it were, of CÆSAR's Memory.

Marius *kill'd by order of* M. Antony.

Antony, to perſuade them entirely of the Sincerity of his Intentions, and of his Diſpoſition towards maintaining Peace, caus'd one *Amatius* publickly to be kill'd in *Rome*, for calling himſelf a Son of old *Marius*; and by favour of that Great Name, and by virtue of a Kindred with CÆSAR, publickly demanding that his Death ſhould be revenged. He had put himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Party of the moſt ſeditious *Plebeians*. Thoſe Mutineers had erected an Altar to CÆSAR's Memory, on the very Spot where his Body had been burnt; and they required the Magiſtrates and the prime Men of *Rome* to ſacrifice thereon. ANTONY, without obſerving any judicial Form, caus'd their Chief to be ſtabb'd. Several of his Accomplices periſh'd in this Tumult, and a great Number of Slaves, who had imbrac'd that Party, were

were immediately hang'd by *Antony*'s Orders. Tho' the Senate no ways approv'd these violent Proceedings, as being contrary to the Laws, they however thought themselves obliged to dissemble on an Occasion, when such a Procedure of a Consul and a Friend to CÆSAR, seem'd tending to the greater Safety of the Conspirators. The People, on the contrary, were extreamly provok'd at it. They openly reproach'd ANTONY with Ingratitude to the Memory of his Benefactor, and his Inconstancy, in changing Sides. ANTONY fail'd not to make himself a Merit with the Senate of this Aversion and Resentment of the People. He even pretended to be much afraid, lest *Amatius*'s Followers should attempt his Life; and, as if he was not safe, he required Guards of the Senate to arm himself against the People's Resentment. The Senate allow'd him to be accompanied with some veteran Soldiers. But ANTONY having brought the Senate to what he intended, chose for his Guards none but valiant old Officers, who had served under him in CÆSAR's Armies, and who all passionately long'd to revenge the Death of their General. ANTONY, under several Pretences, got a Body of near six Thousand of them constantly to attend him. To some he gave the Title of Centurions, and to others the Quality of Tribunes. They had Orders to make themselves sure, underhand, of the veteran Soldiers, in case there might be Occasion to compleat their Cohorts. By this means he found himself in a Condition to set on foot a large Body of Forces in a very short time, if his Interest required him to take up Arms.

App. l. 3. c. 1.

Antony is allow'd a Guard.

App. ibid.

The Senate was frighten'd to see the Consul walk the Streets of *Rome* always attended with that prodigious Number of arm'd Officers. His very Friends remonstrated to him, how much so extraordinary a Guard made him suspected and

odious in a free State. ANTONY anſwer'd them, that he had deſired them for no other End than to keep the ſeditious in Awe, and would diſband them as ſoon as every Thing in the City ſhould be reſtor'd to its former Tranquility. And to remove the Suſpicion they might entertain, as if he deſign'd to ſucceed CÆSAR in the Dictatorſhip, he afterwards propoſed to publiſh a Law, that ſhould for ever abrogate a Dignity which was become odious by the Extenſiveneſs of its Power: And his Advice was accordingly paſs'd into a Law by the Votes of the People. This Step, and his Promiſe of forthwith diſmiſſing his Guards, did ſeemingly free the Senate of their Fears; who perhaps did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to make him clear up their Doubts more, or to apply a Remedy to them.

Antony aboliſhes the Dictature.

And indeed ANTONY was advancing inſenſibly towards the ſovereign Power, notwithſtanding thoſe Proteſtations. The whole Authority of the Government was in his ſole Hands. He was already Conſul. One of his Brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was Tribune of the People, and his other, *C. Antonius*, was Prætor: He afterwards procur'd for him, as his Lieutenant, the Command of an Army in *Macedonia*, compos'd of ſix Legions, all old Soldiers, and who had follow'd CÆSAR in all his Wars. So many high Poſts, united in one ſingle Family, made ANTONY Maſter of the Commonwealth; ſo that without having taken upon him the Title either of King or Dictator, it may be ſaid, that he reign'd in *Rome* with an abſolute Authority, when he ſaw young OCTAVIUS, CÆSAR's Grand Nephew, arrive there, to take Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance.

Auguſtus's *Origin.* Vell. l. 2. c. 59.

He was Son of a Senator call'd *Caius Octavius*, who had been Prætor, and of *Accia*, Daughter of *Julia*, CÆSAR's Siſter, who was married to *Accius Balbus*. Young *Octavius* not having yet attained the

the Age of eighteen, CÆSAR had ſent him to *Apollonia*, a City on the Coaſt of *Epirus*, to finiſh his Studies, and make himſelf perfect in his Exerciſes. He had not been ſix Months there, when he heard, that his Grand Uncle had been aſſaſſinated by the Great Men of *Rome*, and even by thoſe whom he had loaded with his Bounties.

This News afflicted him moſt ſenſibly. At firſt he knew not whether the whole Senate had been in the Secret, or whether the Dictator fell only by the Conſpiracy of a few private Enemies. He knew as little what ſhare the People bore in ſo tragical an Event; and the Letters he received a few Days after from his Mother, and *Marcus Philippus*, his Father-in-Law, increas'd his Grief and Uneaſineſs greatly. *Accia*, and *Philippus*, her ſecond Huſband, wrote him word how CÆSAR had been murder'd in full Senate by his beſt Friends; That more than ſixty Senators had been in that Plot; That even thoſe that had no ſhare in it, did however ſecretly favour the Conſpirators, whom they held for the Reſtorers of publick Liberty; That this Party was very powerful; That ANTONY, *Lepidus*, and other Friends of his Uncle, under Pretence of avenging his Death, aim'd at nothing elſe but to eſtabliſh their own Power; That the City was fill'd with Troubles and Commotions, occaſion'd by the Oppoſition and Animoſity of the different Parties; conſequently, That whilſt Things ſtood thus, it behov'd him much not to declare his Pretenſions, nor his Reſentment; and there could be no Safety for him, but in an obſcure and private Life. Some of his Friends went even ſo far as to adviſe him to renounce CÆSAR's Adoption, for fear the Conſpirators ſhould involve him in his Uncle's Fate. Others, as fearful, apprehending every Moment to ſee Soldiers come to kill him, were of Opinion, that he ſhould ſeek for Shelter in the Army of *Macedonia*, the Soldiers

The different Advice which is given him.

whereof were one and all paſſionate Lovers of CÆSAR's Memory.

Octavius, at the very firſt View, diſcover'd the Weakneſs and mean-ſpiritedneſs of theſe Counſels, though varniſh'd over with the ſpecious Pretence of Prudence; and he anſwer'd them only with a generous Scorn, taking it very ill that they ſhould think him capable of following them. CÆSAR's Death had afflicted, but not diſpirited him: He reſolv'd to revenge it, and to maintain the Honour of his Adoption at the very Peril of his Life; and he ſhow'd in ſo nice an Affair, and in ſo early a Youth, an innate Courage and Greatneſs of Soul.

Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 59. All the Hiſtorians of his Time agree, that he poſſeſs'd an exalted Mind, always true and judicious in his Deſigns, capable of the greateſt Undertakings, and of managing them with the utmoſt Skill and Induſtry.

He comes to Rome. The firſt Thing he reſolv'd upon, was to croſs over into *Italy* without Delay, to learn himſelf how People were diſpos'd. As he had but few to attend him, he would not land at *Brunduſium*, the uſual Port for all thoſe that came from the *Eaſt*, leſt the Garriſon, corrupted by ſome of the Conſpirators, might have ſecret Orders to ſecure him.

App. l. 3. c. 3. He went on Shore near a little Town call'd *Lupia*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Brunduſium*, whither he immediately ſent ſome dextrous Perſons to enquire if he might venture ſafely into the Town. The Officers and Soldiers in Garriſon there, underſtanding that the Nephew of their late General durſt not come near them for fear of ſome Ambuſh, went out in a great Body to meet him; and after having given him their Faith, introduc'd him into the Town, and they made him the Maſter of it. *Octavius* thank'd them for their Faithfulneſs and Attachment to the Memory of his Uncle. He ſacrific'd to the Gods, and in a ſolemn manner took upon him the Name of CÆSAR, according

to

to the Privilege of his Adoption. It is by that Name we ſhall for the future call this Man, who made it no leſs famous than his Predeceſſor, tho' by Virtues of a different kind.

Young CÆSAR, after an Action of ſo much Splendor, march'd boldly on to *Rome*, without any other Guard than his own Servants, and a few Friends: But he was ſupported by the Great Name of CÆSAR, which alone ſoon got him Legions and whole Armies to diſpoſe of how he pleas'd. At the Report of his March, the moſt conſiderable among his Father's Friends, his Relations, his Freedmen, and even his Slaves, came and join'd him. The veteran Soldiers, whom CÆSAR, after the Civil Wars, had given Lands to in *Italy*, haſten'd from all Parts to offer their Services to his adopted Son. Money was brought him from all Sides; and when he came near to *Rome*, moſt of the Magiſtrates, the Officers of the Army, and the People, throng'd out at the Gates to meet him. It was taken notice of, that of all the Friends and Creatures of the Dictator, ANTONY alone neglected to pay that Duty to his Son, and did not vouchſafe ſo much as to ſend the leaſt of his Servants to compliment him in his Name. Young CÆSAR would not ſeem to take it ill, that he might not be oblig'd to fall out with him on ſo trifling an Account, having Affairs of much greater Moment to tranſact with him. And when his Friends did not forbear publickly to condemn the Pride and Ungratefulneſs of ANTONY, CÆSAR, with a ſeeming good Temper, excus'd him on Account of his greater Age, and the Prerogatives of the Conſular Dignity. He added, that being the youngeſt, he would make the firſt Advances, and wait on him the next Morning; but that before he went to make that Viſit, he deſir'd all his Friends to come early, with as many People as they could any ways get together, into the *Forum*, to aſſiſt at a Ce- App. ibid.

remony and a ſolemn Act, in which the Preſence of his Kindred and Friends would be no leſs neceſſary than honourable to him.

He gets his Adoption recorded. This Ceremony was regiſtring CÆSAR's Adoption, which, according to the Cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*, he was obliged to get authoriz'd by the Prætor. Without this Formality it was not lawful for him to aſſume his Name, nor take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate. So bold a Step frighten'd equally his Mother and his Father-in-Law. They remonſtrated to him, That declaring himſelf CÆSAR's Heir, he took upon him to proſecute all his Murderers; which would draw the Hatred of the Senate upon him, who by a Decree had ordain'd, that all Things relating thereto ſhould be buried in Oblivion; That the Conſpirators, ſtrong on Account of the great Number of their Adherents, the Governments where they had the ſupreme Command, and the Legions that obey'd them, would all turn their Arms againſt him, as againſt the Promoter of Tyranny; That even ANTONY, who had now render'd himſelf Maſter of the Adminiſtration, would not be pleaſed to ſee him at the Head of a Party which ſhould have any other Maſter but himſelf; and, That tho' a Creature of CÆSAR's, it ſeem'd as if the Death of that Great Man had wiped off all his Obligations to him; and that his Son would perhaps find him as much averſe to his Fortune as his Aſſaſſins, or the worſt of his Enemies.

His Courage and Reſolution. CÆSAR anſwer'd them, that when he had taken that Name upon him at *Brunduſium*, he had foreſeen all the Conſequences and all the Obligations it brought him under; and, That what he ſaw in *Rome*, far from inducing him to repent the doing of it, only contributed to confirm him in the Reſolution which he had taken; That the Pardon which the Conſpirators had obtain'd from the Senate, had been granted for no other Reaſon, but

because

becauſe no body had the Courage to oppoſe it; but That he did not deſpair of getting it revers'd, when the Senate ſhould ſee him at the Head of his Kindred, of the Friends and ancient Officers of CÆSAR, back'd by the Authority of the Laws, and ſupported by the Love of the People: That the very Gods would declare for the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and ANTONY perhaps would be aſhamed at laſt, that he had not come into it before: That at all adventures he had rather die, than give up an Adoption that was ſo glorious to him; and it ſhould never be ſaid of him, that he thought himſelf unworthy of That Name which CÆSAR had thought he merited. *Accia*, ſeeing him animated with ſo noble a Courage, and ſuch high Sentiments, embraced him tenderly; and drowning his Face with Tears, which Joy and Fear did confuſedly force from her, *May the Gods, my Son*, ſaid ſhe, *conduct you, where your high Deſtiny calls you: And Heaven grant, I may ſoon ſee you victorious over all your Enemies!* After this, CÆSAR went to the *Forum*. He preſented himſelf, attended by a vaſt Multitude of his Friends, before *Caius Antonius*, Prætor for that Year, and the Conſul's Brother. He declared to him in a ſolemn Manner, that he accepted CÆSAR's Adoption: And after having cauſed his Declaration to be regiſtred, he went to *Pompey*'s Gardens, where ANTONY reſided, and which he had appropriated to himſelf upon that Great Man's Death. Id. App. Ibid.

ANTONY, having learn'd that young CÆSAR was at his Door, let him wait there ſome time, to make him know, by that affected Diſregard, how much he was above him by his Office, and what Degree of Authority he deſign'd to maintain over him: He was afterwards introduced into his Apartment. Their firſt Meeting was cold, though attended with that Politeneſs and Civility, which is uſual among People of ſuch great Diſtinction. CÆSAR *He pays* Antony *a Viſit.*

ſpoke firſt: He began with returning Thanks to ANTONY for his Attachment to the Memory of his Father, and for his Panegyrick made at his Funeral. Next he complained bitterly, that, being Conſul, he had conſented to the general Pardon which the Senate had granted to the Conſpirators. "Is it poſſible, ſaid he with much "Warmth and Livelineſs, that CÆSAR's Friend, "that he, who actually holds the Dignity of Con- "ſul from that Great Man, has not only ſuffered "his Murderers to eſcape, but has conſented that "Governments ſhould be decreed them, and has "ſince in a peaceable manner converſed with "thoſe Aſſaſſins? Could I have expected this of "my Father's Lieutenant, of him, who ſhared "his Power and the Command of his Armies, and "whom he raiſed to the chief Dignities of the "Commonwealth? Take it not amiſs, that I "conjure you by his Memory to alter your Con- "duct: Show your ſelf to the Senate, the People, "and all *Rome*, the Avenger of my Father's "Death: Join your ſelf to me, join your ſelf to "CÆSAR's Relations, and ſo many Officers and "Soldiers, who daily call for the Puniſhment of "thoſe Aſſaſſins. Let us unite our Reſentment, "as we do our Grief; and if we do not think our "ſelves ſtrong enough, let us call the People to "our Aſſiſtance. You know it was none of their "Fault, that we were not revenged before now. "But if the Fear of offending the Senate hinders "you from concurring in ſo juſt a Deſign, at leaſt "do not oppoſe Me in it. And though I ſhould "be alone at the Head of the Party, and have yet "neither Legions nor other Forces, every Thing "is poſſible to a Son, who undertakes to revenge "the Death of his Father: I only deſire, as his "chief Heir, that you will deliver up to me all "his Money, which you cauſed to be carried to "your own Houſe. I willingly leave you all his "other

App. l. 2. Auguſtus *makes Complaints and Propoſals to* Antony.

" other invaluable Treaſures in Gold and Silver " Plate, or in Jewels of all Sorts; but I have Oc- " caſion for the ready Money, 'to pay off the Le- " gacies which he left to the People; and to begin " to pay three Hundred Thouſand Men, who are " mentioned in his Will. And whereas what you " could let me have at preſent of ready Money " will not be ſufficient, I ſhall be much obliged to " you, if you will either lend me ſome of your " own, or procure me ſome at Intereſt from the " Quæſtors or Receivers of the publick Monies, " that I may pay off what ſhall remain due to " the People and veteran Soldiers, 'till I am able " to raiſe Money, by the Sale of the whole Eſtate " that my Father left me, to diſcharge thoſe ne- " ceſſary Duties.

Antony's Fear; and the Anſwer he makes.

The Boldneſs and Undauntedneſs of this Speech alarmed ANTONY. He was ſurprized to find ſuch vaſt Deſigns in ſo young a Man, and one that was yet but in a private Condition. Inſtead of anſwering his Complaints and Demands, he at firſt pleaded the Authority which the Conſulate gave him. He wrapped himſelf up, as it were, in the Dignity of his high Office, and made uſe of it as a Barrier, to prevent CÆSAR's ſhowing him in too near a View, what was juſt and true. But perceiving he had to do with a Man educated in CÆSAR's Boſom, and accuſtomed to look on moſt Conſuls as on his Uncle's Creatures; he at laſt anſwered him, That he was very much miſtaken, if he fancied that CÆSAR, by leaving him to inherit his Name and his Eſtate, had thereby left him the ſame Claim and Right to the Empire: That his Death, which had been as the Puniſhment and Revenge of the Authority which he had uſurped, ought to have taught his adopted Son, that the Conſtitution of the Commonwealth allowed neither of Hereditary nor even of Elective Sovereigns; therefore that a *Roman* Conſul owed him no Account of his Conduct:

That

That on his Part, he acquitted him of all the Obligations which he pretended to owe him; ſince in all that he had done, he had no other View, but the Welfare of the State, and to maintain Peace among his Fellow-Citizens: "Yet it is I alone, "continued ANTONY, that having eſtabliſhed "CÆSAR's Memory, by cauſing him to be ho- "nourably interr'd at the publick Charge, have "acquir'd you his Name, the Right of his Fami- "ly, his Inheritance and Eſtate. All this you had "loſt, if CÆSAR after his Death had been treated "like an Uſurper: For his Will had not then "been confirmed. There would have been nei- "ther Will, Adoption, nor Inheritance. No bo- "dy would ever have dar'd to have brought his "Corpſe into the *Forum*: But I choſe rather to ex- "poſe my ſelf to the Indignation of the Senate, "and the Fury of the Conſpirators, than ſuffer "that Great Man to be deprived of the Honours "of Sepulture. If I have made ſome Conceſſions "to the Conſpirators, I thought my ſelf obliged "to it from Conſiderations becoming my Age "and Dignity; Conſiderations, which a young "Man, as you are, is incapable of diſcerning. "As to the Sums of Money which you demand, "can you be ignorant, that that very Money be- "longed to the Commonwealth, from which your "Father had taken it? It has been ſhared among "the Magiſtrates ſince his Death, and they are to "lay it out on the ſeveral Occaſions of the State. "But ſuppoſe it ſhould be reſtored to you, I would "never adviſe you to conſume it in Largeſſes and "Gratifications, as imprudent as they are uſeleſs. "You know, that the People is a Monſter, who "takes on all Sides, that is never to be ſatisfied, "and who never repaid the good Offices of our "Citizens, but with the baſeſt Ingratitude. And "as for you, Young Gentleman, continued he, "who have read the Hiſtory of the *Grecian* Com-

"mon-

monwealths, have not you obſerved therein, "that all the People's Favourites are ſhort-liv'd; "and that it is building on a Bog, to lay the "Foundation of one's Fortune on the tranſient Fa- "vour of a vile Populace?

Though the Diſguize of theſe Counſels young CÆSAR eaſily ſaw, that *Antony* retained his Father's Money from him for no other End, than to diſable him from buying the Love of the People. The Empire, as it were, was expoſed to Sale; the Multitude and even the Legions proſtituted their Votes and Services to the higheſt Bidder. Young CÆSAR, highly offended at a Refuſal, of which he rightly foreſaw all the Conſequences, went out of ANTONY's Houſe pierced with Grief, loudly invoking CÆSAR's Name, and calling him, as it were to his Aid againſt the Injuſtice and Ingratitude of the Conſul. But as the Grand Affair was to be before-hand with him in gaining the Love of the People, to ſupply the Room of that Money which was refus'd him, he expoſed to Sale all the Houſes and Lands that belonged to the Dictator; and publickly declared, That he had not accepted of his Inheritance, but in order to prevent the Conſul from depriving ſo many Families among the People of the Sums left them by the Will of his Uncle and Father. *Auguſtus's Indignation againſt Antony.*

ANTONY, on the other hand, to ſtop all the Springs, whence young CÆSAR might draw Money, obtained a Decree from the Senate, That an Enquiry ſhould be made into the publick Moneys and Revenues. This Decree retroſpected the Adminiſtration of the Dictator, whoſe Inheritance ANTONY was reſolved to ruin, thereby to put his Heir out of a Condition of gaining the People by his Liberalities? And he at the ſame Time put a ſtop to the Sales, which he intended of his principal Eſtates in Land. Some private Citizens claim'd them before the Conſul, as the Eſtates of their Anceſtors, *Antony's Artifice towards Auguſtus.* App. l. 3. c. 5.

ceſtors, which CÆSAR, as they ſaid, had appropriated to himſelf during the Civil Wars. Some Officers of the Revenue interpoſed at the ſame Time to reclaim a Part of thoſe Lands, as being confiſcated for the Uſe of the Publick, having belonged to attainted Perſons. Theſe important Debates were all carried before ANTONY, or ſome inferior Magiſtrates, who depended upon him. It was in vain, that young CÆSAR ſhow'd by the Deeds of Conveyance, that his Father had bought thoſe Lands with his own Moneys; and that, ſuppoſing it to be otherways, that famous Decree paſs'd by the Senate after his Death, ratified every Thing done under CÆSAR's Dictatorſhip; and that they ought either to repeal it in all its Parts, or equally maintain all the Acts done by the Authority of his Father and during his Dictatorſhip.

ANTONY, who only endeavour'd to embroil this Affair in a Maze of Law-Suits, maintain'd on the contrary, That Time ought to be granted to ſuch Citizens, as had been deprived by ſuperior Force, to bring in their Proofs; and as to the Senate's Decree, it appeared, that it was only deſigned to maintain thoſe Magiſtrates in their Offices, who had been preferred to them by the Dictator, to prevent the State's falling into an Anarchy: But he doubted, whether that Decree extended as far as the Eſtates which CÆSAR had appropriated to himſelf: That an Affair of that Conſequence very well deſerved the Senate ſhould explain its Intentions therein by a new Decree: After all, he could not believe, that a Body of Men, ſo remarkable, for their Equity, ſhould have pretended to authorize Uſurpations, tolerated only in thoſe unhappy Times, and which hereafter would be put to no other Uſe, than to ſupport the Pride and Luxury of a young Man.

App. ibid.

CÆSAR,

CÆSAR, not ignorant that his Enemies by all theſe Stratagems only deſign'd to evade the Execution of his Father's Will, did inſtantly put up his own Patrimony to Sale, beſides the Eſtates of his Mother and Father-in-Law, who willingly parted with them to contribute to his Greatneſs. Young CÆSAR paid Part of the Legacies mentioned in the Will out of the Produce of thoſe Sales. The People, charmed with his Generoſity, cried out, he deſerved to bear the Name of CÆSAR, and as they hoped more Favours from him, they declared one and all for him againſt ANTONY. The Conſul on his Side, that he might be able to cope with that Party, pretended to have ſecret Notice brought him, that the *Getæ* had made Incurſions into *Macedonia*. Under that ſpecious Pretence, he deſired of the Senate, they would grant him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army on that Frontier. Auguſtus's *Bounties.* App. l. 3. c. 5.

Though the Senate knew perfectly well, that thoſe *Barbarians* had made no Inroads into the Dominions of the Commonwealth, yet they granted the Government of *Macedonia* to ANTONY, to enable him to balance the Power and Credit of young CÆSAR, who became ſuſpected and formidable by the Sums of Money he laviſhed on all Sides. The Senate, to maintain their own Liberty, uſed all their Induſtry to keep the Power of the Grandees in a Balance; and that Body of Men, formerly ſo abſolute, was now reduced to truſt the Forces of the State, and the Command of the Armies, to ſuch as often turn'd them againſt their own Country: So that it may be ſaid, that *Rome* in thoſe Days had ſcarce any Thing at Command, but the Choice of her Tyrants. *The Senate favours* Antony.

ANTONY, having obtain'd that Government, ſent *Caius Antonius*, one of his Brothers, thither, to draw thence as many Forces as he could, and bring them over into *Italy*. His Deſign was to make *Breach between* Antony *and* Auguſtus.

make himſelf Maſter of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, as the Dictator had done, in order to extend his Authority from thence to *Rome*, and if poſſible, to drive young CÆSAR thence. His Hatred and Jealouſy againſt that Son of the Dictator did openly break out at the Games which *Crotonius* gave the People during his Ædileſhip. The Senate, as we have ſeen, had, during the Dictator's Life, ordain'd by a Decree, That at all the publick Shows, a gilded Chair and a Crown of Gold ſhould for ever be placed there, to make the Memory of that Great Man immortal. Young CÆSAR fail'd not to ſend the Chair and Crown thither. But *Crotonius*, probably gain'd over by his Enemies, would not admit it, under Pretence that it was not juſt Another ſhould carry away the Honour of thoſe Games of which he bore the whole Expence. The Affair was carried before the Conſul. ANTONY, who deſir'd no better than to mortify young CÆSAR, anſwer'd coldly, That he would refer it to the Senate. *And I*, anſwer'd CÆSAR haughtily, *will go and place the Chair of my Father where it ought to ſtand, whilſt You are conſulting the Conſcript Fathers.*

Plut. in Ant. App. l. 3. c. 6.

ANTONY, who was naturally of a proud Temper, provok'd at the Audaciouſneſs and Firmneſs of that young Man, reply'd, that he forbad him, not only to place it at the Games of *Crotonius*, but even at thoſe which were to be ſhow'd at his own Expence: And Paſſion carrying him beyond his Bounds, he threaten'd to ſend him to Priſon, if he continued to ſeduce and corrupt the People by his Largeſſes and Prodigalities. CÆSAR, of a more ſubtil and moderate Temper than the Conſul, wiſely concealed his private Reſentment: But he knew how to make ſufficient Advantage of ANTONY's Threats. And, that he might turn againſt him the Reſentment of the People and Soldiery, he uſed to addreſs his Speech to him in the *Forum*, as if he had been preſent there himſelf: After having related

all

all the Obſtacles he had form'd to evade the Execution of CÆSAR's Will, and the opprobrious manner in which the Conſul had treated him; "Where- App. l. 3; c. 6.
"fore, ſaid he, doſt thou oppoſe the Honours to
"be paid to a Great Man, from whom thou deri-
"veſt thy own Dignity and Riches? Suffer at
"leaſt, O ANTONY, that his Son may diſcharge
"thoſe Legacies, which by his Will he has left to
"his Fellow-Citizens: I leave you to enjoy all the
"reſt: I ſhall be too rich yet, if I can but in-
"herit his Glory, and that Love which the Peo-
"ple bore him." Such Diſcourſes, repeated artfully on different Occaſions, rais'd the Populace againſt the Conſul. Every one deteſted his Ingratitude; and his own Guards, who had all ſerv'd under CÆSAR, threaten'd to abandon him, if he continued to perſecute the Son of their General.

However great ANTONY's Paſſion againſt young CÆSAR was, he ſaw it behov'd him to diſſemble. He anſwer'd thoſe Officers, that he was incapable of proving ungrateful to the Memory of his Benefactor; that he even preſerved a tender Friendſhip for his Son: But that that young Man, proud of the Great Name of CÆSAR, offering to put himſelf on a Level with a Conſul, he thought himſelf bound to make him ſenſible of the Subordination there was betwixt a private Citizen and the chief Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth: But that he was ready to re-admit him into his Friendſhip, provided he would for the future know himſelf a little better, and behave himſelf towards him with that Reſpect and Complaiſance, which his Office and Age entitled him to. This Explanation was followed by an Interview, which the Officers brought about. ANTONY and CÆSAR embraced, and promiſed to aſſiſt each other with the Intereſt of their Creatures, and go Hand in Hand in the Execution of their Deſigns. ANTONY, who had his Ends to ſerve, requeſted of him the

Plut. in Anton. App. l. 3; c. 6. *Antony and Auguſtus have an Interview and are reconciled.*

the Help of his Friends, to procure him the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, in Lieu of that of *Macedonia*. That Government of *Gaul* had been given by the Dictator to *Decimus Brutus*, one of the chief Conſpirators. And the Senate had confirm'd it ſince CÆSAR's Death. ANTONY, who knew the Importance of that Government in reſpect to all *Italy*, remonſtrated to young CÆSAR, That ſince he was generouſly diſpos'd to revenge the Death of his Father, he ought not to ſuffer, that one of his Aſſaſſins ſhould in a manner enjoy the Fruit of his Crime at the very Gates of *Rome*. CÆSAR approv'd of his Opinion, and promis'd to back him with all his Intereſt with the People. ANTONY forthwith propos'd the Affair to the Senate; but he met with great Oppoſition from the Majority thereof, who ſaw with Grief, that ANTONY, by turning one of the Conſpirators out of his Government, broke in upon the *Senatus Conſultum*, and the general Pardon, by which they had ſecur'd the Lives and Fortunes of all that had a Hand in the Dictator's Death. There were even ſome in that Body, who, obſerving that ANTONY was going the ſame way which the Dictator had taken to attain the Sovereign Power, propos'd rather to make that Province a Free State, than to truſt the Government of it to a Man, who was ambitious, a Great Commander, and who would uſe it no otherways than as a Place of Arms, and the Seat of his Empire. Several of that Body adviſed *Decimus* to fortify himſelf there betimes, and ſent him Succours underhand. So that ANTONY's Propoſal having been rejected almoſt unanimouſly, he addreſs'd himſelf to the People, whoſe Tribunes he had brib'd.

Antony is for taking the Government of Gaul *from* Brutus.

It is eaſy to ſee, from what we have ſaid, that the Senate was againſt undoing the Conſpirators, whoſe Party they took to be the ſame with that of Liberty. But the People, always ſhort in their Fore-

Foreſight, and brib'd by young CÆSAR's Gifts, went headlong into all his Deſigns. They granted the Government to ANTONY, in hopes to ſee a ſpeedy Vengeance taken of the Dictator's Aſſaſſins, without conſidering that their Death would be immediately follow'd with the Loſs of their own Liberty. They decreed *Gallia Ciſalpina* to ANTONY, who, by virtue of a *Plebiſcitum*, and againſt the Will of the Senate, ſent thither a ſtrong Body of Forces to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of it. The Enemies of the Senate and the Conſpirators triumph'd on Account of the Reconcilement of CÆSAR and ANTONY. But it was very hard for two ſuch Men to continue long united, when their Intereſts were ſo widely oppoſite. ANTONY, thinking himſelf now Maſter of *Italy*, regarded young CÆSAR leſs; and the Death of a Tribune of the People, whoſe Place CÆSAR deſign'd to fill with *Flaminius*, one of his Creatures, ſoon ſhow'd, that all this ſeeming Friendſhip was only as it were a Ground for betraying each other afreſh. ANTONY fearing if CÆSAR had a Tribune entirely dependant on him, he would make uſe of him to propoſe Things to the People wholly for his own Advantage, employ'd all his Credit and Authority to poſtpone that Election, and hinder any Aſſembly from meeting ſo ſoon. At the ſame Time he made a Decree, as Conſul, forbidding CÆSAR, under ſevere Penalties, from making any new Gifts to the People contrary to Law. This was a Sort of Declaration of War againſt him. Their Hatred and Averſion were kindled anew. ANTONY never mention'd CÆSAR, but with the Epithets of a young hare-brain'd Fellow, whom, he ſaid, it was neceſſary he ſhould compel to his Duty; whilſt CÆSAR, deeply ſilent, was laying the Foundations of his Enemy's Ruin. He began with ſtirring up the Reſentment of the People againſt him, not a little

War declar'd againſt D. Brutus.

New Broils between Antony and Auguſtus.

App. l. 3. c. 7.

tle incens'd at his laſt-mention'd Decree againſt his beſtowing Largeſſes; and ſent at the ſame time Emiſſaries to all the Colonies, which his Father had ſettled in *Italy*; and even into ANTONY's Army, who diſpers'd Manifeſto's againſt his Management, and who underhand made ſure of a great Number of Officers and veteran Soldiers. Thoſe who were at *Rome*, and compos'd ANTONY's Guards, remonſtrated to him, that he was undoing himſelf and them, by his criminal Diviſions with young CÆSAR, and that the Dictator's Aſſaſſins only would profit by it. "You are not ignorant (ſaid the "Tribunes and principal Officers to him) that "the ſame Parties which formerly divided the "Commonwealth betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, have "yet a Being. The one always makes uſe of the "plauſible Pretence of defending publick Liber-"ty, and the other aims at revenging the Dicta-"tor's Death. We have choſen You to command "over us, as his beſt Friend, and in hopes that "his Lieutenant and firſt Commander of his Par-"ty would make uſe of his own and our Courage, "to obtain a full Revenge of thoſe Villains who "have aſſaſſinated him. Theſe are the Motives "of our Truſt and of our Engagements. Your "Safety and ours both depend upon the undoing "of the Conſpirators. If their Party prevails in "the Government, we muſt all expect to be pro-"ſcrib'd as the Accomplices of *Cæſar*, and the "Miniſters of an Uſurper; and tho' under his "Command we ſpilt our Blood to extend the "Bounds of this Empire, *Cæſar*'s Soldiers will be "found guilty, if his Enemies get the better of "them. Nothing can uphold our Party, but "your Union with young CÆSAR. Aſſiſt him, "help us to deſtroy the Party oppoſite to ours; "Let it not be ſaid, that CÆSAR's beſt Friend "croſſes his Son, in his generous Deſign of reven-"ging his Father's Death.

ANTONY

ANTONY was not leſs deſirous of deſtroying the Conſpirators than his Officers, but he could not brook that it ſhould be owing to CÆSAR; and he fear'd, that under Pretence of revenging his Father's Death, he would ſeize on the Sovereign Power by the Ruin of the Republican Party: This was the ſecret Ground of their Differences. ANTONY would gladly have lent young CÆSAR his Troops and his Credit to deſtroy his Father's Murderers, if he would have acknowledged *him* for his Succeſſor in the Adminiſtration of the Republick. However, as it behov'd him much to retain with him that Crowd of Officers who had followed his Fortune ſince the Dictator's Death, he anſwer'd thoſe who came with that Errand from them, That he was glad he had an Opportunity of giving them an Account of his Conduct, and to lay his very Soul open to them. He added, that he promiſed himſelf, that after they had heard him, they would find he had wanted neither Courage to defend the Memory of their General, nor Prudence or Skill to improve any Opportunity of revenging his Death. App. l. 3. c. 6.

"I ſhall not (ſays he) remind you of the Tumult, Commotion and Diſturbance which *Rome* was in immediately after the Dictator had been aſſaſſinated in the Middle of the Senate. The general Cry was, that the Commonwealth was reſtored, and the Senate ſeem'd even diſpoſed to decree a Reward to the Murderers, as to the Authors of Liberty. If this had been effected, CÆSAR's Memory had been attainted like that of a Tyrant, and we ſhould all have been involved in the ſame Sentence. I was thorowly ſenſible what would be the Conſequence of ſuch a Reward, and I alone ſtood it out againſt all the Conſpirators, their Kindred, and their Friends, and, if I may venture to ſpeak ſo boldly, againſt the whole Senate it ſelf. But as their Adhe- Antony's *Apology.*

" rents did no leſs foreſee that if *Cæſar* was not
" declared an Uſurper, the Conſpirators ought to
" be puniſhed, and that each Party was obſtinate
" in defending their own Opinion; it was at laſt
" agreed, for the Safety of both Sides, inſtead of
" a Reward, to grant them a general Pardon. By
" this Means I ſecur'd *Cæſar*'s Memory; I pre-
" ſerved the Glory of his Name entire; I ſaved
" his Eſtate and Goods from being forfeited; and
" prevented that Adoption from being cancelled,
" which now makes young CÆSAR ſo daring. He
" enjoys the Fruits of my Cares; and if to get
" his Father's Will confirmed, I have conſented
" to a Pardon in Favour of the Conſpirators, that
" does not argue that my Deſign was to ſecure
" their Lives. I only reprieved them; it was
" not my Fault, if they were not all tore to
" Pieces on the very Day of *Cæſar*'s Obſequies.
" I call to witneſs thoſe who ſaw it, in what
" manner, under Pretence of deploring *Cæſar*'s
" Fate, I rais'd the Fury of the People againſt
" his Murderers, and put them under a Neceſſi-
" ty of ſtealing out of *Rome*. I no ſooner heard
" that they were raiſing Forces, but, that I might
" not be taken unprovided, I got the Govern-
" ment of *Macedonia* decreed to me, which has
" made me Maſter of ſix Legions that were in
" that Province. I intend to make uſe of them
" for yours and my Safety; and it is to render us
" ſtill ſecurer, that I have beſides obtain'd of the
" People, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the
" Senate, the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina*,
" whence, by your Aſſiſtance, I hope to drive
" *Decimus Brutus*. Such has hitherto been my
" Conduct; and I am very unwilling to hide any
" of my moſt ſecret Deſigns from my Friends,
" and thoſe who are to ſhare the Glory of
" them, as well as the Performance. I even
" conſent, that you communicate this to all
" that

" that are in the ſame Intereſt: I only except " CÆSAR, whoſe Pride and Ingratitude I have " already too much experienc'd.

This Speech of ANTONY, wherein it ſeem'd as if he had wholly unboſom'd himſelf, ſatisfy'd his Officers in ſome meaſure. Yet they requir'd of him, that he ſhould be reconciled with young CÆSAR again. He was forced to conſent to an Interview, wherein, after mutual Complaints, Excuſes and Embraces, they parted juſt as ſincere Friends as they were before. *Antony and Auguſtus reconciled.*

CÆSAR was very willing that ANTONY, as his Father's Lieutenant and Creature, ſhould help him to revenge his Death; but he would not put him at the Head of a Party, which, after the Defeat of the Conſpirators, would be Maſter of the Republick: And ANTONY, at the Bottom, very indifferent about this Revenge, pretended to be in earneſt, with no other View than to make himſelf a Merit of it with the Soldiery. The Sovereign Power was the only Mark he aim'd at; whatever could obſtruct that ſecret View, was equally odious to him; and he hated CÆSAR no leſs than *Brutus* or *Caſſius*, tho' he was forced to keep more Meaſures with the firſt, becauſe of the Love which the People and thoſe Officers and Soldiers bore him, that had ſerved under his Father.

It was to make him loſe that Affection, in which conſiſted his main Strength, that he cauſed ſeveral of his own Guards to be put under Arreſt, pretending they had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by young CÆSAR to make away with him. An Accuſation of that Moment made a great Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, and their open Enmity made it the more probable. Every body was of Opinion, that it was a horrid Crime to attempt the Life of a Conſul. Beſides, the very Adherents and Friends of young CÆSAR thought they had Occaſion for a Commander of ANTONY's Abili- *Antony's Deceitfulneſs.*

Abilities, to oppoſe *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and the other Chiefs of the Conſpirators. CÆSAR, enraged at thoſe Reports ſpread againſt his Honour and Reputation, haſtens into the City, ſhows himſelf in all the Streets, calls the People together, and remonſtrates to them, that ſo black a Calumny had been invented only with Deſign to ruin him in their Opinions, and to make him loſe their Goodwill. He calls the Gods to witneſs his Innocence, and loudly demands to be brought to his Trial. From thence he goes to ANTONY's own Houſe, defying him to produce thoſe that were accuſed, the Informers, and the Witneſſes. But as Entrance was deny'd him, he made a Thouſand Imprecations againſt ANTONY, whom he called a Cheat and an Impoſtor. *I require no other Judges* (ſaid he) *but your own Friends*, if they can find but the leaſt Glimpſe of Truth in the baſe Charge againſt me, wherewith thou attempteſt to blacken my Name.

App. l. 3. c. 9.

The People, according to Cuſtom, judged of the Ground of this Accuſation by what they ſaw outwardly. He that ſpoke with moſt Boldneſs and Vehemence, ſeem'd guiltleſs to them. Some did even not ſcruple to ſay openly, that this Accuſation was no more than a new Stratagem of ANTONY, to have a Pretence of increaſing his Guards. Some ſuſpected both the Accuſer and the Accuſed of a ſecret Intelligence. They ſaid, they had made this Rout with no other View, than that they might take up Arms without alarming thoſe who might have fear'd they deſign'd jointly to turn them againſt the publick Liberty.

Antony *and* Auguſtus *both arm.*

But their enſuing Conduct ſhow'd ſufficiently, that each only ſought the other's Deſtruction, and aſpir'd to remain alone at the Head of that Party which was oppoſite to that of the Conſpirators. They rais'd Forces both at the ſame Time. ANTONY

TONY order'd the four Legions which he had drawn from *Macedonia*, to march towards *Rome*, with which he deſign'd to make himſelf Maſter of *Gallia Ciſalpina*. He flattered himſelf, that *Lepidus*, who was in *Spain*, at the Head of four Legions, *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Gallia Tranſalpina*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, who had two at his Command, all three ancient Lieutenants of the Dictator, would declare for him. Young CÆSAR, fearing to be ſurpriz'd and cruſh'd by his Enemy, rais'd on his Part ten Thouſand Men in *Campania*, and got Two of *Antony*'s Legions, that of *Mars*, and the Fourth, to come over to his Side. But as he was inveſted neither with a Military Title, nor any Magiſtracy, which gave him Right to head an Army, eſpecially againſt a Conſul, he endeavour'd to get the Senate on his Side. He ſucceeded therein by *Cicero*'s Intereſt, who always oppoſed ANTONY's Pretenſions and Party. *Cicero* was his Enemy for no other Reaſon, than that he believed him an Enemy of the Commonwealth. It is what he mentions himſelf, in that vehement Speech which he made againſt him in the Senate. That great Orator, that intrepid Defender of the Liberty of his Country, ſeeing ANTONY ready to invade *Gallia Ciſalpina*, perſuaded the Senate to ſend young CÆSAR's Troops againſt him. The ableſt of that Body, who moſt of them were related to ſome of the Conſpirators, approv'd a Counſel which would ſow Diviſion in the contrary Party; and they deſpair'd not of advancing the Ruin of the Chiefs by their mutual Hatred.

Second Philippic.

Young CÆSAR was not ignorant of their Deſign. He was well apprized of the ſecret Correſpondence the Senate kept up with the Conſpirators: But as in the preſent Circumſtances, ANTONY ſeem'd to him the moſt formidable Adverſary, he reſolved to diſſemble with the Senate, to ſuſpend his Ha-

Auguſtus *declar'd Pro-Prætor.*

tred againſt his Father's Aſſaſſins, and endeavour to rid himſelf of ANTONY, before he turn'd his Arms againſt them. It was from this Motive, and to dazzle the Senate's Eyes, of whom he would continue to feign himſelf the Miniſter, that he refus'd the Title of *Proprætor*, which his Soldiers were for conferring on him. And when his moſt intimate Friends, and thoſe whom he conſulted chiefly in the moſt ſecret and important Affairs, remonſtrated to him, that his Army would ſcruple to obey a Citizen without any Dignity or Magiſtracy: "The Senate (ſaid he to "them in private) has juſt now declared for me; "but this Declaration proceeds not ſo much from "Friendſhip to Me, as their Fear of ANTONY. "They ſeem ſure of my Submiſſion, and it is my "Intereſt to give them no Cauſe to miſtruſt me. "I refuſe the Title of *Proprætor*, which the Army "offers me, only to engage the Senate to confer "it on me.

And indeed, the Senate was impoſed on by that outward Modeſty. They thought it became their Intereſt to amuſe him likewiſe, and flatter'd themſelves they ſhould blind him with Honours and Marks of Diſtinction, which carried more Show than Power with them. By a publick Decree, they conferred that very Title on him which he had lately refuſed, and, to bind him faſter to their Intereſt, they ordered a Statue of Gold to be erected for him in the *Forum*. By the ſame Decree they gave him a Place in the Senate, and Leave to put up for Conſul ten Years ſooner than the Laws permitted. But through the Diſguiſe of theſe ſignal Favours, it was not difficult for CÆSAR to perceive, that the Senate was only intent upon diverting him from minding his Father's Death, or diſabling him to revenge it. ANTONY, on his Part, by Virtue of a Decree of the People, but againſt the Will of the Senate, had, as we have

Antony makes War againſt D. Brutus.

ſeen

ſeen above, cauſed the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina* to be conferred on him, tho' *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Heads of the Conſpiracy, had been inveſted with it by the Dictator, and confirm'd in the Poſſeſſion of it by the Senate, after the Dictator's Death. ANTONY, after having ſeized moſt of the Towns of that Province, now actually held *Decimus* beſieg'd in *Modena*. The Senate, provok'd at an Undertaking againſt their Orders, ſent to acquaint him with a Decree, by which he was commanded to raiſe that Siege; to depart forthwith from *Gallia Ciſalpina*; to march his Army back again over the *Rubicon*, a River that parted that Province from the reſt of *Italy*; and on the Banks of that River, to wait for the Senate's farther Commands. All this he was ordered, under the Penalty of being declared an Enemy to his Country. It was *Cicero*, ANTONY's Enemy, who had formed that Decree. He could not have made the Senate ſpeak more haughtily, nor with more Dignity, if the Strength of the Commonwealth had been proportionate to her Majeſtick Stile. But ANTONY, ſeeing himſelf at the Head of a great Body of Forces at the Gates of *Rome*, laugh'd at the Decree. He anſwer'd proudly, that ſince they would deprive him of a Government, which he had obtain'd from the Good-will of the People, he ſhould find Means to render that Pardon uſeleſs, to which he had conſented out of bare Complaiſance to the Senate; and that he hoped in a little while to ſacrifice *Decimus Brutus* to the *Manes* of Great *Cæſar*.

Senate's Decree againſt Antony.

Year of Rome, 371.

His Anſwer was taken for a Declaration of War. The Senate, incens'd at his Rebellion, order'd *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, who were newly choſen Conſuls, and young CÆSAR, to join their Forces, and march to the Relief of *Decimus*. *Panſa* was at the Head of four Legions, but made up entirely

Antony declar'd a Rebel.

D. Brutus relieved.

tirely of new Levies; and *Hirtius*, by a ſecret Order of the Senate, who were reſolved to weaken CÆSAR's Army, requir'd him to return the Legion of *Mars*, and the Fourth, which had quitted ANTONY's Party.

CÆSAR, to give Proof of his Deference for the Conſul, ſurrendred thoſe Troops to him inſtantly. Tho' thoſe two Legions were come over to him from a Principle of Attachment to the Memory of his Father, he made as if he did not ſee thro' the Senate's Views; and having Occaſion for their Aſſiſtance and Authority to get rid of ANTONY, he thought that to know how to loſe upon a proper Occaſion, was no Loſs but rather Gain. He afterwards join'd the Remainder of his Forces to thoſe of the Conſuls; and the Son of the Dictator was ſeen to follow the Enſigns of his Enemies to the Relief of one of his Father's Aſſaſſins.

Antony defeated; the Death of Panſa *and* Hirtius.

ANTONY likewiſe advanced at the Head of his Forces. They ſoon came to a Battle: The Fight was long and obſtinate; nothing but the Night put an End to it. The Loſs was pretty equal on both Sides, if we except that of the Conſul *Panſa*, who in the Heat of the Action was mortally wounded. ANTONY march'd his Army back into his Lines. *Hirtius* and CÆSAR undertook a few Days after to force them; and as they were of great Extent, *Hirtius* found out a Place weaker guarded than the reſt, which he carried Sword in Hand. He fell next upon the Camp. ANTONY ſet two Legions againſt him, which, after a long Reſiſtance, were cut to Pieces; and the Conſul would have defeated the whole Army, if he had not been kill'd whilſt he was fighting with too much Ardor at the Head of his Legions. His Fall ſlacken'd their Courage, and CÆSAR, who by the Death of one Conſul and the Wound of the other, was left chief Commander of the whole Army, contented himſelf with preſerving the Ad-

App. l. 3. c. 15.

vantage he had gain'd. His Deſign was to cut off ANTONY's Proviſions, and ſo ſtarve him, or elſe force him to another Battle. ANTONY, weaken'd by theſe Loſſes, and fearing the Event of a third Battle, rais'd the Siege. As he was not in a Condition to keep the Field before a victorious Army, and ſuperior to his own in Strength, he march'd towards the Mountains, whence he took the Road to *Gallia Tranſalpina*, in hopes to get *Lepidus* to declare for him, and alſo *Plancus* and *Aſinius Pollio*, who in thoſe large Provinces commanded ſeveral Bodies of Men.

The Senate deſpiſe Auguſtus.

The Senate, overjoy'd at ANTONY's Defeat, whom they now conceived to be utterly undone, ſent Orders to their Generals to oppoſe his Paſſage, and took but little Notice of CÆSAR, from whom they thought henceforth they ſhould have nothing to fear. Without any Regard to his Dignity of *Proprætor*, the Command of the Army was taken from him, and given to *Decimus Brutus*, with Orders to give ANTONY no Time to breathe, but to purſue him forthwith, and treat him like a publick Enemy. This Conduct ſhow'd CÆSAR what he was to expect from moſt of the Senators: and *Panſa*, before he died, diſcovered to him the true and ſecret Spring of all their Deſigns. That Conſul, being at the Point of Death, ſent for young CÆSAR to him; and when he was come to his Bedſide, ſpoke to him in this manner: "I always "loved your Father more than my ſelf. Though "ſome prudential Reaſons, to which even You "have ſubmitted your ſelf, have retained me in "the Party of the Senate, I never laid aſide "the Deſire nor the Hopes of revenging his "Death. My own, juſt at Hand, deprives me "of that Comfort; but before I expire, I will at "leaſt acquit my ſelf, towards the Son, of what I "was indebted to the Father. Know then, that "you are not leſs hated nor ſuſpected by the Se-

The Advice given Auguſtus by Panſa, being at the Point of Death.

"nate

"nate than even ANTONY your Adverſary. They "hate you both equally. Nothing has pleaſed "them more than to ſee you fall out, and they "flatter themſelves to make you both the Inſtru- "ments of each other's Ruin. If they declared "for You, it was only becauſe they thought you "the weakeſt, and the Man they could the ſoon- "eſt overcome. My Deſign, far different from "that of the Senate, was to compel ANTONY by "Force of Arms to be reconciled with you, and "afterwards to join our Armies, and, in Conjun- "ction, purſue the Murderers of our common Be- "nefactor. It is the only Thing left for you to do. "Agree with ANTONY; you'll find him more "pliable ſince his Defeat. I return you your two "Legions, and I would as gladly ſurrender up to "you the reſt of my Army; but they do not en- "tirely depend upon me. The Officers are moſt "of them the Spies of the Senate, that have ſecret "Orders to obſerve our Conduct." The Conſul died preſently after this. CÆSAR put himſelf at the Head of his Forces, to which he join'd the *Legio Martialis*, and likewiſe the fourth Legion. *Torquatus*, by the Senate's Command, deliver'd the reſt of the Army up to *Decimus Brutus*, who immediately march'd in Purſuit of ANTONY, to draw him to a Battle; and he deſpair'd not of overtaking him before he had reach'd the *Alps*.

Auguſtus's ſubtile Management.

The Senate had made Choice of *Decimus* for no other Reaſon, than to have an Army entirely dependant upon their Orders. CÆSAR reſented that Preference highly. He ſaw with Regret, that the Senate, by putting one of the Conſpirators at the Head of the Commonwealth's Forces, ſeem'd to juſtify his Crime. This Affront inclin'd him to a Reconciliation with ANTONY, according to *Panſa*'s Advice: But as his own Intereſt was the ſole Rule of his Conduct, and that he aſpir'd no leſs to make himſelf the Heir of the Dictator's Pow-

er,

er, than of his Name and Eſtate, he apprehended, that in joining with ANTONY, that General would pretend to be acknowledged the Head of the Party, and would make uſe of thoſe very Forces that had ſo lately defeated him, to make himſelf Maſter of the Government.

CÆSAR, in this Uncertainty, reſolved to keep in equally with the Senate and ANTONY, and to delay declaring himſelf till he was ſure which Party *Lepidus* and *Plancus* would take, and then he would chuſe which Enemy to attack the firſt. That he might give a Gueſs at the Diſpoſition of theſe different Parties, his Friends at *Rome* demanded in his Name, that he might be choſen Conſul in the room of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, deceaſed; and at the ſame Time he ſent a great Number of Officers back to ANTONY, that had been taken Priſoners in the laſt Battle.

Auguſtus courts Antony's Friendſhip.

Decius, the oldeſt of thoſe Officers, and ANTONY's intimate Friend, after having thank'd him for his Liberty, aſked him how he was inclined towards his General? CÆSAR did not think fit at firſt to lay himſelf quite open, and anſwer'd him only, that ANTONY might eaſily judge of it by his Conduct. This was to oblige that General to make the firſt Overtures. But underſtanding that the Senate, far from decreeing him the Conſulate, were only meditating how they ſhould reduce him to a private Life, he ſaw clearly, that his Intereſt requir'd he ſhould immediately unite himſelf with ANTONY. He began to communicate his Mind to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, all old Officers of the Dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a ſecret Correſpondence. He wrote to them, that the Senate, all made up of POMPEY's Adherents, oppoſed his Riſe, only becauſe he was CÆSAR's Son; that themſelves ought not to expect a more favourable Treatment; that they ſtudied only how to divide them, in order to cruſh them after-

afterwards more eaſily one after another; That this Conduct ought to ſhew them what ſhould be theirs, and that he intreated them to unite firmly with him to maintain the Party of their late General. By the way, he added ſome Complaints againſt ANTONY; but in ſo artful a manner, that it was eaſily ſeen he was not averſe to a Reconciliation. He gave a new Proof thereof, by letting *Ventidius*, a Lieutenant of ANTONY, eſcape, when he might eaſily have defeated him. That Officer having rais'd three Legions, was endeavouring to join his General's Army. CÆSAR overtook and ſurprized him with ſuperior Forces. He had ſurely been defeated, if CÆSAR had fallen on him, but he contented himſelf with ſhowing him, that his Deſtiny was in his Power. He gave him the Choice either to embrace his Party, or to continue his March; and *Ventidius* having told him he was not capable of relinquiſhing ANTONY's Intereſt, CÆSAR giving him Leave to retreat, order'd him to tell him in his Name, that he acted directly contrary to their common Intereſt.

App. l. 3. c. 18.

Antony *croſſes the* Alps.

All this while ANTONY, preſs'd by *Decimus Brutus*, who commanded the Army of the Commonwealth, endeavoured to gain the *Alps*. He met in his Paſſage *Culeo*, a Lieutenant of *Lepidus*, who guarded the Paſſes: He muſt have periſhed with his whole Army in thoſe Mountains, if *Culeo* had been faithful to his General. But he ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by ANTONY, who with a good Sum open'd himſelf a Paſſage, and continued his March. *Decimus*, having drove him out of *Italy*, wrote to the Senate, that he had diſperſed his Army; that ANTONY himſelf was hiding and ſculking ſomewhere among the *Alps*, and he hoped that he would ſoon fall into his Hands. The Senate heard this with an uncommon Joy. The Senators of *Pompey*'s Party, cried out, that the Commonwealth had at laſt recovered its Liberty; and

App. ibid.

Antony *is proſecuted.*

as

as if ANTONY had been actually taken, the Senate named ten Commiſſioners to try him. They talked of no leſs than repealing all the Laws which had flowed from his Authority ſince *Cæſar*'s Death; and they even by degrees aim'd at including in this Repeal all the Ordinances of the Dictator, in order to re-ſettle the Commonwealth on its ancient Foundation.

ANTONY the while, after having paſs'd the *Alps*, was enter'd into *Gaul*. He immediately wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*, to remind them of their ancient Friendſhip, and deſire them to join with him againſt the Conſpirators, and the other Enemies of *Cæſar*'s Memory. *Lepidus*, who had got the Government of *Spain*, was ſtill in *Gaul*. He was equally ſurprized, and puzzled, at ANTONY's Arrival. He was a Man more regarded for the Merit of his Anceſtors, than his own Worth; of a narrow Mind; ambitious without Courage; enterprizing, and yet timorous at the ſame Time. He communicated the Reaſon of his Uneaſineſs to *Juventius Laterenſis*, his particular Friend, to whom he ſhow'd ANTONY's Letters. *Juventius*, who was a zealous Republican, omitted nothing to diſſuade him from joining ANTONY; but in order to conceal his Attachment for the Senate, he artfully ſtirr'd up his Ambition: He remonſtrated, that having ſeven Legions at his Diſpoſal, he was look'd on as the moſt powerful General of the Commonwealth; and that he would alway rule, which Side ſoever he choſe: But that, if he join'd ANTONY, he could not avoid ſubmitting to the Authority of a haughty and violent Conſular, who would ſcarce leave him the Rank of one of his Lieutenants in his own Army. The Jealouſy about Command determin'd *Lepidus* to reject ANTONY's Propoſals, though they were both Friends and Creatures of the Dictator. He ſent him word, that ſince the Senate had declar'd him an

Antony *courts* Lepidus.

Lepidus *refuſes* Antony's *Propoſals.*

an Enemy to his Country, he could not join his Forces to his, without drawing on himſelf a Decree of the ſame Nature: But he aſſur'd him at the ſame Time, that whatever Orders he receiv'd from *Rome*, he would carefully avoid coming to any Engagement. *Aſinius Pollio* on the contrary more ſteady, and ever faithful to the Dictator's Party, ſent ANTONY word, he ſhould always find him diſpos'd to join with him to revenge the Death of their General. *Plancus*, ever doubtful and wavering, kept at the ſame Time a ſecret Intelligence with both Parties. He flatter'd ANTONY and *Decimus Brutus* by Turns, that he would join them; but he always deferr'd declaring himſelf, till he ſaw how Things went.

ANTONY, on his Part, ſaw his Ruin unavoidable, if the Senate's Authority ſhould prevail with thoſe unſettled Minds, and move them to act in Harmony with *Decimus Brutus* againſt him. During this Uneaſineſs, which ſhow'd him all the Danger without any way to eſcape from it, he took a Reſolution worthy of his Magnanimity, but which was perhaps alſo caus'd by the Extremity to which he ſaw himſelf reduc'd. He march'd ſtrait up to *Lepidus*'s Army.; he mark'd out his Camp juſt near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the ſame Party and Intereſt. He ſent immediately to him; bad him conſider, that the Senate aim'd only at deſtroying all *Cæſar*'s Generals one after another, by obliging them to turn their Arms againſt each other: And, putting him in mind of their former Friendſhip, he conjur'd him by *Cæſar*'s Memory, to contribute his Share in revenging the Death of that Great Man.

Velleius, l. 2. c. 63. Lepidus betray'd by his Soldiers.

The Affair was taken into Conſideration, and a Treaty ſet on Foot; but whilſt ſome Officers were going backwards and forwards, *Lepidus*'s Soldiers, who ſlighted him as much as they valued ANTONY, being beſides ſecretly brib'd by thoſe of

that

that Conſul, receiv'd him by Night into their Camp, and own'd him for their General. Some even offer'd to kill *Lepidus*, if he would command them to do it. *Juventius Laterenſis*, who had ſo much diſſuaded him from uniting with ANTONY, ſeeing his Friend abandon'd and betray'd by his Soldiers, kill'd himſelf with his own Sword. Some Hiſtorians inſinuate, that *Lepidus* threw himſelf at ANTONY's Feet, begging he would ſpare his Life. ANTONY did not miſuſe his good Fortune; he treated the unhappy *Lepidus* with a great deal of Humanity: He even left him the Title and outward Marks of Generalſhip, tho' he alone perform'd all the Functions of it. *Aſinius Pollio* came about the ſame time to offer him his two Legions. *Munatius Plancus*, always govern'd by Events, did then openly declare againſt the Senate and *Decimus Brutus*: And *Ventidius*, whom young CÆSAR had graciouſly ſuffer'd to make his Way to *Gaul*, join'd ANTONY there with three more Legions: So that that General, who a little before was driven out of *Italy* by young CÆSAR and *Brutus*, now found himſelf in a Condition to return thither at the Head of ſeventeen Legions. App. l. 3. *Antony's Affairs retrieved.* Plut. in Anton.

So ſurprizing a Change in ANTONY's Fortune, threw the Senate from an Exceſs of Confidence into the utmoſt Deſpondency. Upon the News *Decimus* ſent them, that he had drove ANTONY into the Mountains, where, he ſaid, he could not avoid periſhing either for Want, or by the Arms of *Lepidus*, moſt Senators had believ'd that Party entirely ruin'd; and they thought to compel young CÆSAR, whom they no leſs ſuſpected, to diſband his Legions, under Pretence that the Republick had no farther Occaſion for them, the War being ended. CÆSAR, to ward this Blow, which would have left him naked and defenceleſs, reſolv'd to put up for Conſul, with a View, that App. l. 3. c. 18. D. H. l. 46. *Auguſtus puts up for the Conſulate.*

that if he obtain'd that Dignity, he ſhou'd have a Privilege to keep his Forces on Foot, and to command thoſe of the Commonwealth; and that if the Senate ſhould oppoſe him, ſuch a Refuſal would furniſh him with a Pretence of remaining arm'd, to revenge himſelf of thoſe that ſhould have declared againſt him. It is ſaid, that from that very Time he took Meaſures to be reconciled with ANTONY; but that he might not truckle to his Authority, he put up for the Conſulate, that by means of this Dignity he might be the Head of the Party which he ſhou'd eſpouſe. And as *Cicero* then bore a great Sway in the Senate, he intreated him by ſome common Friends to uſe his Intereſt, that they might both be choſen Conſuls at the ſame time. To perſuade him to do it, he remonſtrated, that he only deſir'd the Title of that Dignity, of which he would leave him the whole Power; and that he wiſh'd to be his Collegue only to be his Diſciple, and learn the Art of Government under ſo great a Maſter.

Cicero *ſpeaks for* Auguſtus.

Cicero, miſ-led by theſe Praiſes, of which he was very greedy, and reliſhing the Pleaſure of governing CÆSAR, declar'd in his Favour. He remonſtrated to the Senate with his uſual Eloquence, That he knew no ſurer Way to prevent CÆSAR's Reconciliation with ANTONY, than to create him Conſul: That as ſuch, he could not avoid maintaining the Senate's Decrees againſt ANTONY; but as he was yet very young, he admoniſh'd the Conſcript Fathers to appoint him ſuch a Collegue, as by his Age and Prudence might be capable to have an Eye on his Conduct, and be a Sort of a Governor to him in the Management of Affairs. Several Senators, Friends or Kindred of the Conſpirators, and who fear'd that young CÆSAR, when arriv'd to the Conſulate, would uſe his Authority to revenge the Death of the Dictator, rejected *Cicero*'s Propoſal with much Warmth. Some even laughed

App. ibid. c. 18.

laughed openly at his Vanity, and the indirect manner in which he appointed himſelf to be choſen young CÆSAR's Collegue. This Affair was warmly debated in the Senate. CÆSAR, to ſtrengthen his Party, caus'd his Army to advance near *Rome*. The Report of his March had a greater Effect than all the Eloquence of the *Roman* Orator. The Senators, frighten'd at his Approach, not only choſe him Conſul; but as he thought he had now no farther Occaſion for *Cicero*'s Credit, he caus'd *Quintus Pedius*, one of his Relations, and a Legatee of the Dictator, to be choſe ſecond Conſul to his Excluſion. *Auguſtus choſen Conſul.*

The firſt Step he made after he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Conſulate, was to get his Adoption confirm'd in a General Aſſembly of the *Roman* People. This being determin'd, he caus'd thoſe to be impeached by ſome of his Adherents, who had a Hand in *Cæſar*'s Murder. Himſelf preſided at the Trial: And he condemn'd all the Conſpirators to loſe their Lives for not appearing. But as *Brutus* and *Caſſius* their Chiefs, were at the Head of more than twenty Legions, he rightly judg'd it would not be eaſy for him to deſtroy ſo powerful a Party, as long as ANTONY ſhould continue to oppoſe him. Therefore he reſolved to be reconciled to him, under the ſpecious Colour of joining their Forces to revenge his Father's Death. To make the Diſpoſition of his Mind towards him known, he got *Quintus Pedius*, his Collegue and Creature, to inſinuate to the Senate, That it was for the Advantage of the Commonwealth to recal ANTONY, and not to drive to the utmoſt Extremity a great Commander, who was no leſs to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius* had been. The Nearneſs of his Army, encamp'd at the Gates of *Rome*, gave his Counſels the Weight of ſo many Laws: And though moſt Senators clearly ſaw, that he only deſign'd to ſtrengthen himſelf with the *He trys the Conſpirators.* *He gets Antony abſolved.*

Help of ANTONY againſt the Defenders of the publick Liberty, they were no longer in a Condition to act conformably to their good Inclinations. They were forc'd to yield to a Power, which follow'd no other Rule for its Conduct, than that of its private Intereſt. The Senate ſolemnly repeal'd all the Decrees enacted againſt ANTONY and his Adherents; and CÆSAR offer'd him to join their Forces, and march againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*.

App. l. 3. c. 21.

The Conſpirators, being deſerted, fly to Macedonia.

ANTONY return'd over the *Alps* into *Italy* with his ſeventeen Legions. *Decimus*, not finding himſelf in a Condition to oppoſe him, meditated a Retreat into *Macedonia*, where *Brutus* was. The greateſt Part of his Army deſerted him: Four Legions ſubmitted to ANTONY, and others join'd CÆSAR's Army. *Decimus*, ſeeing ſo general a Deſertion, endeavour'd to ſave himſelf in the Mountains near *Aquileia*; but he was ſeized in the Defilees of thoſe Mountains, and his Head was cut off by ANTONY's Command. Thus periſh'd *Decimus Brutus*, the Confident and Favourite of *Julius* CÆSAR. He had been General of his Horſe. The Dictator had got him choſen Conſul for the enſuing Year, and Governor of *Gallia Ciſalpina*. The Civil War broke out, as we have ſeen, on account of that very Government, which ANTONY diſputed with him, under Pretence, that he ought not to retain an Employment, which he had received merely from the Bounty of a Man, whom he had ſtabb'd himſelf for a Tyrant, and the Uſurper of the Government.

Decimus Brutus *kill'd.*

App. l. 3. c. 22. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 64.

Alliance between Auguſtus, Antony, *and* Lepidus.

CÆSAR, who wiſh'd nothing more than to be reconcil'd with ANTONY, ſent to thank him for having put *Decimus* to Death, as a Victim to his Father's Ghoſt. This was the Motive or the Pretence of their Reconciliation. They were both equally inclin'd to it. ANTONY had lately experienc'd before *Modena*, what the Name of the Commonwealth was yet capable of doing: And as he now

began to deſpair of making himſelf ſole Maſter of the ſovereign Power, he reſolved to ſhare it with young CÆSAR. CÆSAR on his Part fear'd, that if he deferr'd any longer to unite with ANTONY, that Party-Chief would at laſt join with the Conſpirators, as he had actually ſent to threaten him he would do, and that their united Forces would re-eſtabliſh the Republican Government. So that Peace was eaſily ſtruck up betwixt two Enemies, who found an equal Advantage in becoming Friends. Some of their common Friends made them conſent to an Interview: The Conference was held in a little deſart Iſland, which the River *Panaro* forms near *Modena*. Both Armies encamp'd upon its Banks; Bridges of Communication had been made from thence into the Iſland, upon which they had poſted Guards. *Lepidus* was preſent at this Interview; and though he had nothing left but the Name and outward Appearances of a General, ANTONY and CÆSAR, who were always upon the Watch againſt each other, were not ſorry that a Third, from whom they had nothing to fear, ſhould interpoſe in the Diſputes which might ariſe betwixt them. *Lepidus* therefore enter'd the firſt into the Iſland, to view whether it was ſafe for them both to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate Condition of thoſe ambitious Men, who even in the midſt of a Reconciliation could not help miſtruſting each other. *Lepidus* having made the Signal that had been agreed on, the two Generals enter'd the Iſland each from the oppoſite Shore. App. l. 4. c. 1. *Year of* Rome, 710.

They firſt embrac'd, and without entring into any Diſquiſition about Things paſs'd, they advanc'd towards the Place of Conference, which was on the higheſt Ground, and whence they could equally be ſeen by their Guards, and even by both Armies. They Three ſate down with no body elſe near them. *Cæſar*, as Conſul, took the moſt honourable Poſt, and ſate betwixt the other Two.

They then debated what Form of Government they ſhould ſettle in the Commonwealth, and by what Title they ſhould ſhare the Sovereign Power, and retain their Armies to ſupport their Authority. The Conference laſted three Days; The Particulars of what paſs'd there are not known: Only by what follow'd it appear'd, that they had agreed, that *Cæſar* ſhould abdicate the Conſulate, and for the reſt of that Year inveſt *Ventidius*, one of *Antony*'s Lieutenants, therewith: but that *Lepidus*, CÆSAR, and *Antony*, by the Title of *Triumviri*, ſhould poſſeſs the Sovereign Power for five Years. They limited the Time of their Authority to that ſmall Number of Years, to avoid declaring themſelves too openly at firſt the Tyrants of their Country.

Triumvirate.

Theſe *Triumviri* did next divide the Provinces betwixt them, and alſo the Legions and Treaſures of the Commonwealth. And they went about this Diviſion of the whole Empire, ſays *Plutarch*, as if it had been an hereditary Eſtate, or their Patrimony.

Plut. Mant.

Antony retain'd *Gaul* for himſelf, except only that Province which joins the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which together with both *Spains* was yielded to *Lepidus*. CÆSAR got for his Share *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Iſlands. *Aſia* being in Poſſeſſion of the Conſpirators, was not ſhared at this Time: But the Triumvirs agreed, that CÆSAR and *Antony* ſhould forthwith join their Forces to drive them thence; that each of them ſhould head twenty Legions; and that *Lepidus* with three others ſhou'd ſtay in *Italy* and in *Rome*, to maintain their Authority there. His two Collegues allotted him no Share in the War they were going to undertake, becauſe they entertained no great Opinion either of his Capacity or Courage. It appears, that CÆSAR and *Antony* had taken him in for a Partner in the Triumvirate with

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the ſole View of leaving with him, during their Abſence, the ſupreme Authority as it were in Truſt; becauſe they were well aſſured, that they could at any time eaſier rid themſelves of Him than of another General, if ever he broke his Faith with them, or became uſeleſs.

Proſcriptions made by the Triumvirs.

The Ambition of the *Triumvirs* was ſatisfied by this Partition. But as they had Occaſion for immenſe Sums to carry on the War, and that they left beſides in *Rome* and in the Senate a great Number of conceal'd Enemies, and ſome Commonwealthſmen yet zealous for Liberty; they reſolved, before their Departure from *Italy*, to ſacrifice to their own Safety, and proſcribe the richeſt and moſt powerful Citizens. They drew up a Liſt of them. Each *Triumvir* ſet down his particular Enemies, and even the Enemies of his Creatures. They carried on their cruel Temper ſo far, as each to give up their own Relations, and even ſome of their neareſt Kindred. *Lepidus* ſacrificed his Brother *Paulus* to his two Collegues: *Antony*, on his Part, abandoned *Lucius Cæſar*, his Mother's own Brother, to CÆSAR's Reſentment: And the laſt ſuffered *Antony* to make away with *Cicero*, tho' that Great Man had ſupported him with his Credit againſt this very *Antony*. In ſhort, in this fatal Liſt were ſeen *Thoranius*, Governor of young CÆSAR, the very Man who had taken ſuch a particular Care of his Education. *Plotius*, Conſul Elect, and Brother of *Plancus*, one of *Antony*'s Lieutenants, and *Quintus* his Collegue in the Conſulate, had the ſame Fate; tho' this latter was Father-in-Law to *Aſinius Pollio*, a warm Stickler for the *Triumvirate*. The moſt ſacred Rights of Nature were violated; three Hundred Senators, and more than two Thouſand Knights, were involved in this horrible Proſcription. By this profitable Revenge the *Triumvirate* grew rich,

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 66, 67.

Lucius Cæſar.

App. l. 4. c. 1.

D.H. l. 47.

and leſſened the Number and Power of the Republicans. *Rome* was no more, or at leaſt Liberty was baniſhed thence; and the Commonwealth had a Being no where but in the Camp of the Conſpirators. CÆSAR and *Antony*, according to their concerted Plan, croſs'd over into *Macedonia* to go and attack them. The Forces were pretty equal in both Parties; and if CÆSAR and *Antony*'s Legions were more compleat, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* on the other hand were ſtronger in Cavalry. They had twenty Thouſand Horſe in their Army, when the *Triumvirs* could hardly muſter thirteen Thouſand in theirs.

The Triumvirate attacks Brutus and Caſſius.

Battle of Philippi.

Year of Rome, 711.

Theſe two Armies were encamped near the Town of *Philippi*, ſituate upon the Borders of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. There were at firſt various Skirmiſhes, wherein the Troops of the Conſpirators had always the Advantage. At laſt came on the Day, which was to decide the Fortune and Deſtiny of the Commonwealth. Theſe great Bodies mov'd and march'd againſt each other with equal Fury.

I ſhall not enter into the Particulars of a Battle which has been related by many Hiſtorians; becauſe it is foreign to my Subject. This Battle decided the Fate of the Commonwealth. Liberty was buried in the Plains of *Philippi*, together with *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and the Chiefs of the Conſpirators, and the laſt of the *Romans*. *Brutus* indeed defeated that Body where *Cæſar* was: But *Antony* got the better of that where *Caſſius* commanded. *Caſſius* fancying his Collegue had met with the ſame ill Succeſs, obliged one of his Freedmen to kill him; and *Brutus*, having hazarded the Fate of Arms a ſecond time, loſt the Battle and kill'd himſelf, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. The *Triumvirs*, by this Victory, ſettled their Empire on the

Plut. in Anton.

the Ruins of the Commonwealth. Such great Succeſſes were owing not ſo much to *Cæſar*'s Valour, as to his Cunning and Management; having found the way to make uſe of *Antony*'s Sword; whilſt for his Share, to carry on the common Cauſe, he contributed nothing but Schemes, the ſecret Springs whereof he even conceal'd from both his Collegues. He was not aſhamed, on the Eve before the Battle, under Pretence of I know not what Indiſpoſition, to leave the Body he commanded; and deſerting his own Army, he hid himſelf among the Baggage, whilſt the two Armies were engaged. Perhaps he flatter'd himſelf, that the uſual Dangers of a Battle and *Antony*'s Courage would free him from an ambitious Collegue, and that, without expoſing his Perſon, he ſhould alone reap the Fruits of the Victory. But don't we honour his Underſtanding too much in this Conjecture, when all this might eaſily proceed from his natural Fearfulneſs of Temper? What may incline us to believe, that on this Occaſion he was only actuated by a lively and ſtrong Impreſſion of Fear, is that every body knows what Railleries he afterwards was forc'd to bear from *Antony*, who reproached him, that in a Sea-Fight againſt young *Pompey*, he never had the Courage to ſee the Engagement betwixt the two Fleets; but that, laid down in his Ship, with his Eyes lift up to Heaven like a Man in a Trance, he never ſhow'd himſelf to his Soldiers, till News was brought him that his Enemies were fled.

Auguſtus's Views.

Auguſtus's Cowardice.

What a prodigious and incoherent Mixture of oppoſite Qualities in the ſame Man! and eſpecially in a Man, that aſpired to render himſelf Maſter of the whole World! In him we ſee an exalted, bold, audacious Genius, capable of forming the greateſt Deſigns, yet incapable of facing cooly

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the leaſt Danger, and that ſhow'd no Courage but in Council, and where there was no need of venturing his Perſon in the Execution.

He was very early ſenſible, that Courage, a General's firſt Quality, was wanting in him: Yet though he was conſcious of this Weakneſs in himſelf, it abated nothing of his Ambition. He contented himſelf with calling another Man's Valour to his Aid. He borrowed, as it were, *Agrippa*'s Courage: He put him at the Head of his Forces. But, always intent on the principal Object of his Undertaking, he choſe for ſo important and nice an Employment, a mere Soldier of Fortune, and conſequently one incapable of giving him any Umbrage, or making himſelf Head of a Party. Of the Wrecks of the Republick, there remained only young *Pompey*, who had ſeized on the Iſland of *Sicily*, whence he very much infeſted the Coaſts of *Italy*. The Buſineſs was to force him out of a Retreat, which ſerved beſides for an *Aſylum* to Abundance of Perſons proſcribed, who might perhaps revive the Cauſe of Liberty: But *Auguſtus* had no Shipping. *Mæcenas*, his firſt Miniſter, his Favourite, and the ableſt Manager of a Treaty in thoſe Days, cunningly obtained Ships from *Antony*, although it was ſo much that *Triumvir*'s Intereſt to maintain young *Pompey* in that Iſland to ſerve him as a kind of Barrier againſt the Ambition of *Auguſtus*, which he had always ſo much Reaſon to dread. *Agrippa*, on the other hand, equips a Fleet, goes in queſt of the Enemy, beats *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, defeats him in ſeveral Engagements, and at laſt drives him quite out of that Iſland. But being as modeſt, or rather as ſubtile a Courtier as he was a Great General, he refuſes the Honours of the Triumph, which the *Romans* uſed to decree to Victorious Commanders: Convinced, ſaid he, as

War between Auguſtus and young Pompey.

as *Dion* relates, that a good General ought to neglect nothing to bring his Prince's Deſigns to a good Iſſue; but that when he met with Succeſs, he ought to refer all the Glory to Him, as his Maſter and the principal Author of the Undertaking. AUGUSTUS, now victorious over the whole Republican Party, thought it time to fall out with his Collegues. He was reſolved to reign alone; and, in order to it, to rid himſelf of his two Collegues or Coheirs, whom Fortune had forc'd him to aſſociate in this Inheritance of his Uncle's Power.

He attack'd them one after another. *Lepidus's* Ruin he purchaſed at the Expence of a few Intrigues. That *Triumvir*, little eſteem'd by his Soldiers, ſaw himſelf abandoned by them in his very Camp. AUGUSTUS became Maſter of it by his cunning and ſecret Negociations, in which he outdid all Mankind. Under various Pretences, he diveſted his Collegue of the Sovereign Power. That *Triumvir* was afterwards reduc'd to lead a private Life, and ſo unfortunate, that he became an Object of Compaſſion even to his greateſt Enemies. *Antony*, ador'd by his Soldiers, Maſter of the beſt Part of *Aſia* and all *Egypt*, and who had mighty Kings in his Party, and for his Allies, gave AUGUSTUS more Trouble; but his Ruin was occaſion'd by what ſhould have been his chief Reſource. That Great General, intoxicated with a violent Paſſion for *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and being Maſter of her Dominions, thought he ſhould find therein as many Forces as he met with Charms in the Embraces of that Princeſs. That Exceſs of Security made him neglect the Care of *Rome* and *Italy*, the Centre of the Empire. AUGUSTUS took Advantage of it, and ſettled his Authority there. The Jealouſy concerning the Adminiſtration, ſo natural betwixt Pow-

Lepidus *turn'd out of the* Triumvirate.

Auguſtus *wants to get rid of* Antony.

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ers equal in Dignity, often made them fall out. *Octavia*, *Antony*'s Wife and *Cæsar*'s Sister, and sometimes their common Friends, at various Times, heal'd up their Breaches. But at last they took up Arms against each other: They came to a Battle; and a Naval Fight, near *Actium*, decided the Empire of the World betwixt those two Celebrated Rivals. *Cæsar*, having gained the Victory, pursued *Antony* even into *Egypt*, and reduced him to kill himself. By his Death, and the forc'd Abdication of *Lepidus*, which happened six Years before the Battle of *Actium*, that Prince saw himself at last at the Height of his Wishes, sole Master, and sole Sovereign. It was not doubted, but he would build a new Monarchy on the Ruins of the ancient Commonwealth: But so great a Change made him very uneasy. The *Romans* Love of Liberty, and the Ides of *March*, were continually present to his Mind. *Julius Cæsar*, his Uncle, murdered in the Midst of the Senate, by those very Men, whom he thought the most devoted to his Person, made him fear there might arise another *Brutus*, and some desperate Republican, who, to restore Liberty to his Country, would murder him in his very Throne. The Passion of Fear, which was so natural to him, out-weigh'd in his Soul the Charms of a satiated Ambition; and in these Agitations, which allow'd him no Rest, he deliberated, whether he should declare himself the King of those who from the very Beginning of the *Triumvirate* he had made himself the Tyrant of. At last he held a private Consultation with *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, his two chief Ministers, and the principal Instruments of his Greatness; and he considered with them, whether he should restore the Commonwealth to its ancient State, or retain the Sovereign Power?

Year of Rome, 723.

Augustus entertains thoughts of making himself King.

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The Hiſtorian *Dion* of *Nicea*, in the 52d Book of his Hiſtory, has preſerv'd to us the different Opinions of thoſe two Great Men. *Agrippa*, ſenſible only of that Sort of Glory which is acquir'd by great Actions, openly declar'd for a generous Abdication. He ſet before *Auguſtus*, all the Dangers that attended an Empire inſupportable to free People, and Men educated in a Commonwealth. The different Examples of *Sylla* and *Cæſar* were not omitted; and he exhorted that Prince to ſhow the Univerſe, by reſtoring Liberty to his Country, That the only Motive for his taking up Arms had been, to revenge his Father's Murder.

But *Mæcenas*, without dwelling much on ſhowing to *Auguſtus* the moſt ſhining Parts of a Crown, took him by his Foible, and remonſtrated to him, That he had done too much to go back; That after ſo much Bloodſhed, there cou'd be no Safety for him any where but on the Throne; and that he would no ſooner have diveſted himſelf of the Sovereign Power, but he would ſee himſelf attack'd and purſued by the Children and Friends of ſo many Illuſtrious proſcrib'd Perſons, whom the Misfortune of the Times had forc'd him to ſacrifice to his Safety.

AUGUSTUS, without entirely embracing or wholly rejecting either Advice, took a third Courſe, which he thought the ſafeſt. He reſolv'd, according to *Mæcenas*'s Advice, ſtill to retain the Sovereign Power, but without taking the Title of King, ſo odious in a Commonwealth. He rejected that of Perpetual Dictator for the ſame Reaſon, as having coſt his Great Uncle his Life; and he contented himſelf with the common Title of *Imperator*, which the Soldiers, during the Times of the Republick, uſed to give to victorious Generals, and which he took only to familiarize the *Romans* Auguſtus *Imperator.*

Romans to a new and till then unknown Authority, concealed under a known Title. He kept at the ſame time all the Dignities and Offices of the State to himſelf. There were indeed ſtill at *Rome*, during his Reign, Conſuls, Prætors, Ædiles, and other Republican Magiſtrates: An Image of the ancient Government. Theſe Magiſtrates did even perform all the Offices of thoſe Dignities, though they all at the Bottom depended upon a Superior Power, which made them act according to its own private Ends and Intereſt.

Augustus, to reconcile and familiarize the *Romans* by Degrees to his Government, declar'd publickly, That he did not intend to keep the Sovereign Power in his Hands longer than ten Years, and that he would lay it down with Pleaſure, as ſoon as he ſhould ſee Peace and Quietneſs reſtored to the State. Under different Pretences, he renew'd this Declaration every ten Years, proteſting that he had no other View in retaining that Power, beſides Self-Preſervation, and the Fear of the Reſentment of his Enemies. However, that he might give them as it were a Pledge, and a Foretaſte of Liberty, he divided with the Senate the Governments of the Provinces: But in this Partition he allotted them only ſuch as were in the Centre of the Empire, and could be govern'd without Armies or Garriſons. And to have a Pretence for keeping the Legions and Armies always under his own Command, he took upon himſelf the Care of thoſe Frontier Provinces that were expoſed to the Incurſions of *Barbarians*.

The People, by his Care and Application, ſaw Plenty flouriſh anew. Cæsar, now and then, amuſed them with Games and Shows, which, by Degrees, ſoften'd the too great Fierceneſs of

of the *Roman* Temper. Thus did that Prince, by ſo artful a Conduct, inſenſibly accuſtom Men free-born and of free condition, to bear with Slavery, and made a new Monarchy ſupportable to ancient Commonwealthſmen.

The End of the Fourteenth and Laſt Book.

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